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POPE ALEXANDER VII AND THE CISTERCIAN OBSERVANCES

By

Louis J. Lekai*

The task of retracing the tortuous course of the great debate over the reform of Citeaux from 1623 to the early 1660's is a relatively simple one. The issues at stake divided the Cistercian Order into two clearly distinguishable factions, both of them seeking justice before various ecclesiastical and civil courts. Although a considerable portion of the original documents produced during the long litigation are still missing, or perhaps have perished forever, abundant sources of another nature conveniently fill the gaps. First, a large number of court decisions (*arrêts*), mostly printed, reveal not merely the verdict, but include, as an introduction, a more or less detailed review of the whole legal background of the case. Then, another important group of sources consists of well documented pamphlets, published by the parties themselves, with the purpose of securing public support against the opposition. The growing interest of the papacy in the seemingly insoluble legal tangle, however, changed the familiar pattern of French lawsuits.

Until the death of Louis XIII (1643), and particularly during the last seven years of Richelieu's administration, the reform party, called the Strict Observance, or popularly "abstinents," received all the

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assistance a mighty state could furnish, while the Holy See had no control over the developments. During the regency, however, papal intervention in behalf of the opposition, the Common Observance, became more and more decisive. Rome, of course, had no objection to reform, as a purely disciplinary matter, but resented the conspicuously Gallicanistic alliance between the French government and the Strict Observance, aiming at the enforcement of the reform with the exclusion of any papal interference. It was during the reign of Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) that the issues reached a climactic stage, when the pontiff ordered both parties to Rome, hoping for a mutually acceptable agreement through the services of a specially appointed congregation of cardinals and other prelates.

On the background and actual history of this Roman phase of the debate the available documents of French origin cast little light. This fact, however, does not mean the lack of sources altogether. Large collections of original records survive in the Vatican Archives[1] and a very interesting narrative of the negotiations has been told and retold by the biographers of the chief representative of the Strict Observance, the Abbé de Rancé[2]. The collections of Vatican docu-

[1] One of the two most important collections is in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Miscellanea, Armadio VIII, 99; the other, in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana: Ottoboniana Latina, 3161. The first, misplaced for centuries, was discovered and generously placed at the disposal of the author by his confrère, the Reverend Polycarp Zakar, S.O.Cist., of Rome. It contains 626 folio pages, and, although mixed with many unrelated documents, it is still the largest and most complete collection of the records of the Roman negotiations of 1664-1666. The second, from fols. 183 to 253, includes similar material particularly important for the genesis of the *In suprema* of 1666. These and all other documents in the Vatican Archives and Library have been collected and microfilmed with the co-operation of Father Zakar.

[2] This narrative had originated at La Trappe and was first presented by Abbé de Marsollier, *La vie de Dom Armand-Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1703), I, 257-340. In the text itself there are no references, footnotes, or any other documentation, but in the preface the author refers to a certain *Mémoires de La Trappe*, based on original documents and composed by "un sçavant Religieux de l'étroite observance." Besides this he made use of a diary by Canon Pierre Félibien, friend and traveling companion of de Rancé during his Roman sojourn. The "learned religious" who compiled the *Mémoires de La Trappe* was Dom Jean-Baptiste de la Tour, doctor of theology, prior of La Trappe under de Rancé. Since the monks of La Trappe were dissatisfied with the first biographies of de Rancé written by outsiders, they intended to publish the work of de la Tour as the authentic biography of the great reformer. De la Tour, however, left La Trappe and died in 1708 before the project could

ments, however, follow no clear chronology, and since most of the papers are unsigned and undated memoranda, reports, and propositions, the reconstruction of the precise sequence of developments remains problematic. On the other hand, the biographical narrative abounds in intimate details, such as bits of conversations, secret information, and negotiations with a number of revealing incidents, but without the benefit of notes or supporting references of any kind. Since the documents and the narrative are largely unrelated, the execution of the obvious task, i.e., the evaluation of the narrative in the light of the existing documents, is rather inconclusive. For the same reason the following essay is merely a preliminary attempt to present the highlights of events during the last few years of the reign of Alexander VII with as much accuracy as the present stage of research permits.

From 1651, the feud between the two observances was carried on before the *parlement* of Paris. The issue was the validity of the reform decrees of Cardinal La Rochefoucauld of 1634 and 1635, which deprived the members of the Common Observance of all their rights and privileges and entrusted the leadership of the order to the Strict

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be completed; in fact, this work in its original form has never been published. But the manuscript and collection of documents was inherited by François A. Gervaise, himself a monk of La Trappe and for a while the appointed successor of de Rancé, who in 1720 was ready with a new two volume biography. Unfortunately, state censorship prevented the publication. A considerable portion of the manuscript, however, was incorporated into Gervaise's famed *Histoire générale de la réforme de l'ordre de Cîteaux en France* (Avignon, 1746), pp. 280-354. Gervaise made use of further details of his manuscript in his sharp criticism of previously published biographies of de Rancé. (*Jugement critique mais équitable des Vies de feu M. l'abbé de Rancé* [Troyes, 1744.]) During the turmoil of the French Revolution de la Tour's collection of documents perished, but at least two copies of Gervaise's still unpublished biography survived. One of them is today in a private collection (Château de Marcouville, Vitray-sous-Brézolles, Eure-et-Loir), the other was salvaged by the refugees of La Trappe, which, after the re-admission of the Order to France, became the possession of the abbey of Septfons. This manuscript, in view of its publication, was revised in succession by two Trappist scholars, Dom Eugène de Laprade Abbot of Darfeld and Dom François Couturier Abbot of Port-du-Salut, but in 1854, when the latter died, the work was still not ready for print. Then, the Trappists passed the manuscript to a priest of the Diocese of Dijon, Louis Dubois, and commissioned him to publish the much delayed "authentic" biography of de Rancé. Indeed, in 1866, Dubois published the two bulky volumes entitled *Histoire de l'abbé de Rancé et de sa réforme* (Paris), under his own name, although his work was only editorial. The manuscript as it was revised

Observance. First, the *parlement* was inclined to justify the claims of the Common Observance, but later, under the pressure of Queen Anne of Austria and her intimate advisors, it favored the Strict Observance. The leader of the Common Observance, Claude Vaussin, Abbot of Cîteaux, after realizing the growing danger of an unfavorable decision, sought the moral support of the Holy See. Pope Alexander VII, aware of the Gallicanist undercurrents beneath the *parlement's* attitude, was ready to hold out a helping hand. After having been approached and informed by Vaussin's procurator in Rome on November 10, 1657, the pope issued a brief in which he decided the crucial problem of abstinence in favor of the Common Observance, by reaffirming the authority of the general chapter to grant valid dispensation for the whole order.

When this brief failed to impress either the Strict Observance or the *parlement,* the pope went even further. In another brief, issued on March 8, 1660, he condemned the Strict Observance for trying to gain the control of monasteries belonging to the Common Observance, by offering to the monks high pensions and other material benefits if they would give over their houses to the "abstinents." The brief proved to be of no avail; on July 3, 1660, the *parlement* declared the validity of La Rochefoucauld's sentences, the legal foundation of all claims of the Strict Observance. The demand for their immediate

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by Dom Couturier is presently in the possession of Port-du-Salut under the title "Relation de la vie et de la mort de Réverend Dom Armand-Jean le Beuthillier de Rancé," microfilmed for the author by the Reverend M.-Maur Cocheril of Port-du-Salut. The comparison of this manuscript with the biography published by Dubois revealed that the latter is a copy of the former. Since the changes made by Laprade and Couturier on the original manuscript of Gervaise are minor, the authorship clearly belongs to Gervaise. For purely practical purposes references in the present essay will be made to Dubois and not to the unavailable manuscript copies of Gervaise's biography. Unfortunately, none of the revisors attempted to furnish the documentation missing from Gervaise's original work, yet the biography as it was published by Dubois was accepted without question as a work of scholarship by such authorities as Henri Bremond, who based his analysis of de Rancé's personality largely on Dubois. [*L'abbé Tempête* (Paris, 1929).] The authentication of Dubois' biography, still regarded as standard, if possible at all, would necessitate the critical analysis of de Rancé's whole literary bequest together with all other available sources. The author is grateful for information in this matter received from the Reverend Anselme Dimier of Scourmont. Cf. the author's forthcoming article, "The Problem of the Authorship of de Rancé's 'Standard' Biography," *Collectanea Ord. Cisterciensium Ref.,* XXI (1959), fasc. 2.

execution implied the downright capture of the order by the Strict Observance.[3]

The harsh verdict shocked the Cistercian Order both in France and abroad. Although the *parlement's* decision had no legal force outside of France, it was expected that Citeaux, under the leadership of the Strict Observance, would try to impose a similar reform upon foreign houses as well. This fear was voiced in a protest to the Holy See by the Swiss Cistercian abbeys, in which they asserted that the execution of the *parlement's* decree would unavoidably endanger their rights and privileges within the order. To give more weight to the document, it was presented to the pope in the name of the Swiss Republic, claiming the duty of safeguarding the rights of Swiss subjects.

The sympathetic pontiff responded on July 2, 1661, by the issuance of a brief, which found the Swiss charges well substantiated, and while confirming the petitioners' legal standing, condemned the recent measures taken against the Common Observance in France; furthermore, the same brief declared the sentences of La Rochefoucauld as null and void. Single items of the famous regulations had already been invalidated by the Holy See several times, but this was the first general pronouncement of summary condemnation.

Meanwhile in France the exasperated Common Observance fought against the execution of the *parlement's* verdict with considerable success. Although Louis XIV was reluctant to annul the contested decision, on June 18, 1661, the Council of State authorized Vaussin to transfer the whole problem to Rome for a final settlement. Considering the favorable attitude of the Holy See toward the Common Observance, it was understandable that the Strict Observance became thoroughly alarmed, while the jubilant Vaussin journeyed in all haste to Rome to urge Alexander VII to take immediate action. The pope, indeed, appointed for the investigation of the case four prominent canonists headed by Emilio Altieri, the future Clement X. It was upon the recommendation of this commission that on January 16, 1662, a new brief was issued. This document, in justification of Vaussin's point of view, opposed particular and local reforms, such as that of the Strict Observance. Instead, it advanced the idea of a general reform, to be enforced uniformly throughout the whole order. For the task of outlining the principles of such a universally acceptable

[3] Cf. the author's "The Cistercian General Chapter of 1651 and its Aftermath," *Citeaux in de Nederlanden,* IX (1958), 106-120.

reform, the same brief summoned the leading representatives of both observances to Rome, to be assisted in their work by a specially appointed congregation.

The Strict Observance, in anticipation of inevitable defeat in Rome, took refuge behind the principles of Gallicanism and urged Louis XIV to refuse the sanction of the papal document. Due to the unfortunate affair involving the French ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Créqui, and the papal Corsican guard (1662-1664), the execution of the brief was suspended. After the restoration of peace with the Holy See, however, on July 3, 1664, the Council of State ordered immediate compliance with the pontiff's will.

Vaussin was ready once again to champion the cause of the Common Observance in person, but the leaders of the Strict Observance found themselves in a perplexing situation. The vicar of the Reform, Jean Jouaud, Abbot of Prières and a veteran of the age-old feud, was convinced that the Holy See was so greatly prejudiced against the Strict Observance that any active participation in the impending Roman negotiations was pointless. Others warned that open defiance of both the pope and the king would only aggravate their position. Finally, early in September, 1664, thirty-two reformed abbots and priors convened in Paris at the College of St. Bernard and decided to send an official delegation to Rome for the negotiations. Armand-Jean de Rancé (1626-1700), the young Abbot of La Trappe, was unanimously elected as the chief delegate, who was to be assisted by Dominique George (1613-1693), Abbot of Val-Richer.[4]

The fathers of the Reform were obviously convinced that de Rancé's personality was their best asset in the forthcoming negotiations. Indeed, his eminent status among the French nobility, his reputation as a brilliant scholar and orator, and the publicity given to his recent conversion, implied certain advantages. All these, however, were largely cancelled by his combative temper, by a somewhat ostentatious asceticism and selfrighteousness, by his stubborn unwillingness to compromise, but most of all, by his lack of understanding of the problems in their true historical perspective. Having made his monastic profession only three months before his delegation to Rome, he was still unacquainted with both Cistercian traditions and the antecedents of the involved legal points in question.[5] In this regard, Dominique

[4] Cf. the author's "The Antecedents of the Apostolic Constitution of Alexander VII *In Suprema*," *Analecta S.O.Cist.*, XIV (1958), 117-126.

[5] The bibliography of de Rancé is very extensive although all recent works

George, himself a convert to monasticism, was of little help because he had no active role in the previous stages of the long debate.[6]

The activity of Abbot General Claude Vaussin (1608?-1670) was hampered by no such handicaps. He had been educated among the Cistercians since his early youth. For a while he followed the Strict Observance and only later joined the opposition. In 1643 he became the key figure of the war of observances, and since then he had represented the interest of the Common Observance with great dexterity, displaying every skill of an experienced diplomat. Moreover, his familiarity extended not merely over issues and facts, but since his last visit to Rome (1661-1662) he had become well acquainted with the mentality of the Roman Curia. Thanks to his winning personality, he had already made a number of friends among the most influential personalities.[7]

The characterization of the forthcoming events, however, as a duel between a pair of ill-matched contestants, would not be fair to de Rancé. At this stage of affairs little depended on the ability of negotiators; the case, for all practical considerations, had already been decided on the basis of the previous record of the litigants. Unfortunately, the record of the Strict Observance was conspicuously stained with Gallicanism, a steadily boiling problem greatly vexing the papacy. To be sure, the "abstinent" leaders were not guilty of the theoretical denial of papal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, but in practice they had never hesitated to invoke royal authority against papal pronouncements whenever the momentary interest of the Reform demanded. In fact, since 1635 there had been scarcely any papal decisions issued in the matter of reform that the Strict Observance accepted without challenging their validity As recently as 1662, Jean Jouaud had published a strongly worded pamphlet in which he openly encouraged the king to repudiate the brief of January 16 of the same year, which he did not hesitate to label as vitiated by *obreptio* and *subreptio,* i.e., by falsehood and misinformation.[8]

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are based on Dubois, *op. cit.;* e.g., Albert Cherel, *Rancé* (Paris, 1930), or Vicomte E. du Jeu, *Monsieur de La Trappe* (Paris, 1931).

[6] The abbot joined the Cistercian Order in 1653 after a distinguished career in the secular priesthood. Cf. Claude Buffier, S.J., *Vie de M.l'abbé du Val-Richer* (Paris, 1696).

[7] Cf. the author's "The Election of Claude Vaussin as Abbot of Citeaux," *Revue Bénédictine,* LXVII (1957), 202-219.

[8] *Obreptio:* document based on falsehood; *Subreptio:* document lacking vital information. Cf. the pamphlet in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Ld[17] 53.

But de Rancé as a newcomer in the order could not be blamed for the behavior of the "abstinent" leaders; hence by a quick reversal of the previous policy he might have mollified the resentful curia and thus have created an atmosphere of reconciliation. Contrary to such expectations, the Abbot of La Trappe not only failed to offer apologies for the past but continued to insist, even at Rome, on the nullity of the attacked documents and further antagonized the already hostile Roman authorities. This ill-advised policy ruined the slim chances of the "abstinents" for reaching an acceptable compromise and greatly simplified the task of their opponents. Indeed, Vaussin and his advisors merely exploited de Rancé's embarrassing position, and while posing themselves as willing and obedient subjects of the Holy See, calmly looked forward to their inevitable justification.

Due to the hesitant attitude of the Strict Observance, Vaussin gained another strategic advantage. He arrived at Rome in the early days of October, 1664, preceding the reformed delegates by about a month, and he began immediately a successful propaganda campaign, disseminating his plans without facing noticeable opposition. Jouaud sensed the danger and commissioned Gaspard Hache, a lawyer at the Roman Curia, whose services had already been used in 1661-1662, to represent the "abstinents" until the arrival of de Rancé and his companion. But he himself must have been doubtful about Hache's efficiency, because at the same time he warned the Roman authorities that any decision made before the arrival of his delegation would not bind the "abstinents."[9]

When finally de Rancé was ready for the long journey he was well provided with a written commission by the Strict Observance specifying his duties and the policy to be followed,[10] and with an impressive number of letters of recommendation furnished by his aristocratic

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The Common Observance was eager to collect the most offensive passages from this pamphlet and present it to the Roman authorities as "Locutiones irreligiosae et irreverentes contra Sanctam Sedem et Summum Pontificem sparse in libello supplicis typis mandato ab Abstinentibus Ordinis Cisterciensis." Arch. Segr. Vat., Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 16-16v. The pamphlet itself follows as fols. 22-61.

[9] Arch. Segr. Vat., Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 199-200, dated September 12, 1664. There is only one memorandum in this same collection clearly attributed to Hache, but it was composed probably after the arrival of de Rancé.

[10] The text is missing; according to Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 268, it was dated September 5, 1664.

acquaintances. All these letters proved to be of little avail, except one which was addressed by the Feuillants of Paris to Giovanni Bona, the future cardinal, then assistant to the Feuillant general in Rome, and already an intimate advisor of the pope.[11]

By mid-November the delegation of the Strict Observance had safely arrived at Rome[12] and had launched immediately a busy campaign to neutralize Vaussin's advantages. As Bona intimated to de Rancé, they could not expect much sympathy for the Reform. Due to Vaussin's activity, it was generally believed that in France only the queen supported the Reform, while the king and his council showed no enthusiasm for it, and that the Cistercian houses outside of France were more willing to break away from Citeaux than to obey an administration controlled by the Strict Observance.[13] Naturally, the reformed abbots were eager to expound their point of view to the pope and pressed for an early audience, which was granted on December 2, 1664. The abbots presented their credentials and, after an appraisal of the achievements of the Reform, requested the appointment of a commission of cardinals for the impending negotiations. Alexander VII replied in a cordial tone, although he did not conceal his dissatisfaction over the conduct of the Strict Observance, seeking justice before French civilian authorities.[14]

The new particular congregation was appointed on December 7, by adding to the already functioning committee of four prelates, i.e., Altieri, Fagnani, de' Vecchi and Ugolini, five cardinals—Ginetti, Franciotti, Farnese, Pallavicino and Celsi, and as a tenth member, another prelate, de' Rossi. The key figure of the congregation was undoubtedly Prospero Fagnani, one of the most prominent canonists of the curia, noted for both piety and scholarship; during the subsequent negotiations he acted as the secretary of the congregation.[15]

[11] Cf. two of these in Misc. Arm. VIII. 99, fols. 309-312, by Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti, and Anne Marie, Duchess of Orleans. According to Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 266, besides these, he carried letters from Queen Anne of Austria, Mlle. Montpensier, Duchess of Longueville, Cardinal de Retz, and Dom Cosme, Feuillant, to Bona.

[12] The date of arrival according to Gervaise, *Histoire*, p. 310, and the manuscript of Port-du-Salut, p. 423, was November 16; according to Marsollier, *op. cit.*, I, 257, November 12. The puzzled Dubois arbitrarily chose November 14, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[13] Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 279-281.

[15] Cf. the date of appointment in Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 282. This and all other works based on the La Trappe narrative, instead of Ginetti, list Cardinal

After the congregation had been organized, both parties submitted their written memoranda with recommendations for a future course of action. Vaussin and his able Roman procurator, Jean Malgoirez, insisted that the planned reform must be made universally acceptable throughout the whole order and he emphatically hinted at the imminent danger of a fatal schism if the Strict Observance gained the upper hand at Citeaux.[16] Since the "abstinents" asserted that their program included the observance of the Rule of St. Benedict as it had been observed in the early Citeaux, as an answer the Common Observance produced a chapter-by-chapter interpretation of the rule, which eventually became the body of the papal constitution issued at the conclusion of the whole process. This text was the result of previous consultations which had been carried out by the leading abbots of the order in response to the demand of the brief of January 16, 1662.[17]

Corrado as a member of the congregation and they spell Rossi as Bossi, although on the basis of Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, both must be labelled as errors. Cf. a printed account of the appointment by Jean Malgoirez, *Historica Narratio Judicii Ecclesiastici* in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 496-501. Of the five prelates, cf. the identity of Altieri and Fagnani in the text above. Stefano Ugolini was Archbishop of Corinth, later Patriarch of Constantinople (*Hierarchia Catholica,* IV, 165); de' Vecchi is probably identical with Abbot Girolamo de' Vecchi of Siena, later papal internuncio to Belgium [Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (St. Louis, 1940), p. 263]; Rossi, in Latin documents Petrus Franciscus de Rubeis, was no bishop, but his further identity is uncertain. According to Dubois, during the subsequent negotiations Cardinal Chigi, the pope's nephew, played a key role in behalf of Vaussin. This, however, has not the slightest support in the documents at present available. Furthermore, Dubois calls Chigi "cardinal protector" of the order, while this title belonged from 1651 to Franciotti. Cf. Josephus Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Louvain, 1939), VII, 409.

[16] According to Dubois, *op. cit.,* p. 284, Malgoirez presented to the congregation a protestation against the Strict Observance in the name of foreign abbots. This is corroborated by a letter of Malgoirez to Abbot Scheffer of the Austrian Heiligenkreuz, dated December 13, 1664, thanking him for the moral and financial assistance of Austrian abbeys. The same letter mentioned a "novum memoriale" just presented to the pope. Archives of Heiligenkreuz, Rubr. 59. fasc. IX. 18, courtesy of Father Zakar.

[17] "Articulorum ad reformationem generalem Ordinis Cisterciensis undique transmissorum conveniens restrictio et ad capitula Regulae S. Benedicti reductio." Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 134v.-142v. Probably the first of Vaussin's memoranda was a short historical review of the problem of the reform. *Ibid.* fols. 4-6v.

The prolific delegation of the Strict Observance produced during the prolonged negotiations such a number of memoranda of similar scope, none of them signed or dated, that they defy any attempt to arrange them in precise chronological order. It is certain, however, that the core of the earliest compositions was the demand of revocation of the recent papal briefs that weakened or destroyed the authority of La Rochefoucauld's reform. Strange as it sounds to us, this attitude was the logical consequence of the rigidly legalistic stand taken by the "abstinents" for the past two decades. They conceived the famous regulations as a whole, the firm cornerstone on which the existence of the Reform rested. Any compromise on its essential points, in their minds, was equal to the annihilation of the entire Strict Observance. The old charges of *obreptio* and *subreptio* were repeatedly expounded and extended over all four briefs previously issued by Alexander VII concerning the reform of Citeaux. In some instances another reason for rejecting them was added, viz., the lack of royal approval.[18]

Naturally, the implications of these charges were extremely serious, involving the pope in person and those members of the special congregation who, through their advice, shared the same responsibility. Even a merely theoretical consideration of these allegations was equivalent to the admission that the pope might have issued briefs while habitually ignorant of their subject, composed purely under the influence of the false and malicious pretenses of the Common Observance. The effect of the stubbornly repeated charges over the cause of the "abstinents" was disastrous. By continuously annoying and antagonizing both the pontiff and the congregation, de Rancé destroyed his very limited possibilities of achieving a favorable decision and served only the interest of the opposition, demonstrating through his behavior how greatly was the Strict Observance infected by the spirit of rebellion against the supreme ecclesiastical authority. For such a suicidal policy, it is difficult to offer adequate explanation. Probably de Rancé cleared his conscience of any responsibility by the fact that he had merely followed his written instructions; psychology, however, might furnish more plausible clues.

Regarding the future correlation of the Cistercian observances, de Rancé's stand on questions of discipline proved to be even more

[18] Cf. three memoranda attacking the briefs in Bibl. Ap. Vat., Ottob. Lat. 3161, fols. 214-217; 219-224v.; 237-242.

unfortunate. Up to that point the difference between the observances was not that of principles. Both parties agreed that a thoroughgoing reform was inevitable, and only the question of abstinence was seriously debated. The real force behind the incurable antagonism was a ruthless drive for power, both sides claiming the exclusive ability of an honest and efficient execution of the same reform. In order to offer a rational explanation for his party's exaggerated emphasis on perpetual abstinence, de Rancé at this point resorted to a most peculiar interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict. He insisted in various memoranda that the essence of the rule was penance, and since the abstinence was the principal means of penance, it could never be a matter of compromise.[19] Thus, instead of working for the elimination of differences—the supposed purpose of his mission—he drove a wedge of ideological dissension between the observances, which kept them hopelessly apart for centuries.

Other demands of the Strict Observance included its autonomous status under an elected vicar; the institution of separate triennial chapters; the visitation of reformed houses by visitors appointed by the "abstinents" themselves; the education of all novices in the same "abstinent" observance, and assurances that in the future only those monks would be elected as abbots who had spent at least ten years in the Strict Observance. Meanwhile, the reformed abbots insisted that this program referred only to France and that the plans for a general reform, as proposed by Vaussin, were wholly unrealistic and had been devised for the sole purpose of sidetracking the successful drive for the reform of Citeaux. They always evaded, however, the question of what would happen to the houses of the order outside of France.[20]

After having received the memoranda of both sides the congregation presented a copy of Vaussin's propositions to the reformed dele-

[19] Probably the first clear expression of the thought is a memorandum in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 267-271v. ". . . (abstinentiam) non esse rem indifferentem (constat) cum sit primus magis capitalis et precipuus eiusdem Regulae articulus, post tria vota essentialia." The same was expressed in almost all other documents produced by the Strict Observance, e.g., Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi, G. III. 92, fol. 226v.; "Monastica vita poenitentia est . . ." See also, Ottob. Lat., 3161, fols. 202-203v.

[20] Cf. the most detailed views of the Strict Observance on these issues in Ottob. Lat., 3161, fols. 244-253; the same in Bibl. Ap. Vat., Vaticana Latina, 7488, fols. 43-53; similar texts: Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 125-125v.; Ottob. Lat., 3161, 204-204v.

gates, and vice versa, for mutual comments. The reformed abbots were highly reluctant to consider the plans of the Common Observance, but Vaussin replied to each demand of the opposition.[21] Since the regulations of La Rochefoucauld had already been condemned by the pope, he wasted no time in recounting his reasons for their rejection. As to the disciplinary program of the Strict Observance, he was agreeable, with the exception of perpetual abstinence. He opposed, however, the demanded autonomy and, of course, rejected the measures aiming at the exclusive survival of the Strict Observance. Against the contentions of de Rancé regarding the essence of the rule, Vaussin simply restated the traditional view, that it was not the penance but the obedience.[22]

After the memoranda of both sides had been carefully compared and evaluated, the congregation held its first formal session on January 9, 1665. The prelates were visibly annoyed over the unyielding attitude of the Strict Observance. Altieri proposed that before making any decision in the matter of a general reform a new brief should be issued which would condemn the Strict Observance for its negative disposition toward the previously published papal decisions, reaffirm their validity, insist on their immediate execution, and impose perpetual silence on the "abstinents."[23] But the motion was not adopted at that time, and the congregation decided a further study of the disputed problems. The points of disagreement were arranged in the form of a questionnaire which was distributed among the members of the congregation and the representatives of both observances.[24]

[21] During de Rancé's absence, on February 18, 1665, Altieri complained to Dominique George that up to that time the Strict Observance failed to reply to Vaussin's propositions for a general reform. Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fol. 157. Cf. Vaussin's answer to the various propositions of the opposition, *ibid.*, fols. 171-181v.

[22] *Ibid.*, fols. 219-219v.

[23] Cf. some details of this first session in Malgoirez, *Historica Narratio Judicii Ecclesiastici, ibid.*, fols. 496-501. Reference to Altieri's stand: Arch. Segr. Vat., Nunziatura di Francia, 130, fol. 248.

[24] A large number of these *dubia* survived both in print and in manuscript with various answers. Cf. a printed copy with the answers of both observances in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 501-512v. Other copies, *ibid.*, fols. 10-13; 17-19; 163-168v.; 514-529v.; also, Ottob. Lat., 3161, fols. 189-212. These sheets contained twenty questions on certain points of discipline, observance, administration, and the correlation of both groups. The answers were turned in after the departure of Vaussin whose place was taken by Malgoirez. The Strict Observance insisted on perpetual abstinence and autonomy; the Common Observance empha-

It was probably at this juncture that news arrived from Paris about a most unfortunate incident that rendered the already difficult position of the "abstinents" extremely distressing. Joseph de Montulé, a bachelor of the College of St. Bernard and a member of the reformed Perseigne, presented and publicly defended a thesis at the Sorbonne which, among other Gallicanist statements, rejected the doctrine of papal infallibility. The tone of the dissertation was in line with the current temper of the Sorbonne and as such was by no means unusual, but the presence of the vicar of the Strict Observance, Jean Jouaud, added much to its significance. He not only failed to silence or reprimand the young monk, but he seemed to share the satisfaction of the cheering audience. Moreover, when the indignant papal nuncio to Paris called upon Jouaud for an explanation, he evaded the issue and tried to shift the responsibility to Vaussin. The nuncio's report of the affair to Rome could not fail to influence the congregation considering the fate of the Strict Observance.[25]

Under the changed circumstances, in another session the congregation adopted Altieri's former proposition, and a strongly worded brief was drafted condemning the conduct of the Strict Observance and confirming the much attacked four papal briefs. The text included the annulment of La Rochefoucauld's regulations; emphasizing the necessity of unity, it also abolished the autonomous status of the Strict Observance and granted dispensation from the perpetual abstinence to the whole order. This planned brief, however, passed no judgment over the issues of the general reform, which remained a subject of further consideration.[26]

As soon as the nature of this resolution came to the knowledge of de Rancé, the frustrated abbot, unable to face his humiliation, left

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sized moderation and unity. Among the prelates only de' Rossi seemed to sympathize with the demands of the "abstinents." Cf. Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 284-288.

[25] This incident is known only from the La Trappe narrative (Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-327, spelling the monk's name Monsulé; Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 287) where it serves as the motivation for the failure of the "abstinent" delegation. Gervaise, with a keen sense for drama, tries to convince the reader that de Rancé's unfailing logic and eloquence were about to triumph when suddenly, like a thunderbolt from clear skies, the Montulé affair turned the victory to defeat. Cf. for background Victor Martin, *Le Gallicanisme politique et le clergé de France* (Paris, 1929), pp. 275-285.

[26] Cf. the decision of the congregation in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 236-237 (without date), and *ibid.*, fol. 625, dated Feb. 4, 1665. (Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 289.)

Rome for France in the greatest secrecy, leaving Dominique George behind in full charge of the continued negotiations.[27] The sudden disappearance of de Rancé surprised everybody, particularly Vaussin, who surmised that his embittered opponent might be more dangerous in France than he had been in Rome. In order to keep an eye on de Rancé's possible activity in France, after a final and cordial audience with Alexander VII, the abbot general himself took the road across the Alps never to return. He left Rome, however, in the firm conviction that his point of view had already been safely vindicated, and that whatever still remained to be done would be competently attended by the procurator, Malgoirez. Indeed, at the time of his departure the crucial stage of the negotiations was over. The claims of the Strict Observance for autonomy had been definitely rejected while Vaussin's program for a moderate but universal reform had been accepted. Only the final wording of a conclusive papal constitution remained on the agenda.[28]

De Rancé's absence from Rome was not of long duration. He barely reached Lyons when a letter from Jouaud ordered him back to his former assignment, and the abbot promptly obeyed. His flight, however, had sufficiently dramatized the plight of the Strict Observance. The friends of the "abstinents" were alerted once again, and Rome soon felt the impact of an intense diplomatic offensive, unusual in cases of similar nature. Cardinal de Retz promised his personal intervention in behalf of the Reform in connection with his impending mission to Rome; a number of French bishops were successfully solicited for declarations in support of the "abstinents"; Fagnani was besieged by pleading French aristocrats, but, on top of it all, Queen Anne threw

[27] According to the La Trappe narrative, the pope, after having received the draft of the brief from the congregation, called for Bona and asked his advice. It was Bona who reported to de Rancé the imminence of the brief, "fulminant" against the Reform, which, in de Rancé's interpretation, was equivalent to the suppression of the Strict Observance. The same text dates de Rancé's departure for France on February 4, 1665. (Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-292.)

[28] Cf. a letter from the Secretary of State, Cardinal Rospigliosi, to Roberti, nuncio at Paris, dated March 9, 1665, in which the cardinal—referring to the wishes of the pope as expressed in that final audience—ordered the nuncio to assist Vaussin in all his needs. Arch. Segr. Vat., Nunziatura di Francia, 315, fol. 79. About Vaussin's satisfaction over his mission, cf. his letter of April 28, 1665, written from Citeaux to Abbot Pierre Henry of Clairvaux. Troyes, Arch. Dept., 3 H 3276.

the full strength of her remaining influence into the fight for the justification of the Strict Observance.[29]

Even before the Montulé affair, the queen mother, aware of the king's lukewarm attitude and the difficulties of the Strict Observance in Rome, approached the papal nuncio in Paris, Carlo Roberti de' Vittorii, asking him to intercede at Rome for the "abstinents."[30] On March 5, 1665, the same queen turned simultaneously to Fagnani,[31] to Roberti, and through the latter to Alexander VII.[32] Her memorandum to the pope praised in glowing terms the merits of La Rochefoucauld's regulations, the achievements and general reputation of the "abstinents," energetically defended them against all accusations, and urged the pontiff to instruct the congregation to vindicate the just cause of the Reform.

Alexander VII's negative answer was certainly an unpleasant surprise to the queen,[33] but she became thoroughly aroused when Jouaud presented to her the draft of the brief planned by the congregation which, through the indiscretion of Vaussin's secretary, had found already a wide circulation in Paris.[34] To her, it was equivalent to the suppression of the Strict Observance. Without hesitation, early in April, a new memorandum was transmitted to the pope, in which Anne demanded the cancellation of the planned brief, and—apparently inspired by Jouaud—she went into great details in an attempt to prove the nullity of the four last papal briefs and the validity of La Rochefoucauld's decrees. She referred emphatically to the inevitable legal absurdities, such as the nullity of all monastic vows taken in the Strict Observance, if the juridical foundation of the Reform were to be abolished. Together with the strongest appeal for the re-examination of the whole affair, in case of non-compliance, there was a veiled threat: the queen might no longer support the pope in his fight against

[29] Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-294. Cf. the new letters of recommendation to Fagnani by the same persons as listed in note 11, Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 259-274; the list of bishops, *ibid.*, fols. 117v.-121, although their letters originated prior to the Montulé affair.

[30] Roberti to Rospigliosi, Paris, January 9, 1665, in two copies in the same Arch. Segr. Vat., Nunziatura di Francia, 130, fol. 48r.; Nunziature Diverse, 70, fols. 139v.-140r. Cf. more about Roberti in Charles Gerin, *Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894), I, 500.

[31] Arch. Segr. Vat., Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fol. 257.

[32] Arch. Segr. Vat., Nunz. Francia, 130, fols. 246-248.

[33] Rospigliosi to Roberti, March 30, 1665. Nunz. Francia, 315, fols. 83v.-84r.

[34] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-336.

Gallicanism and Jansenism.[35] Alexander VII in his answer assured Queen Anne that her anxieties were largely groundless, for the dissolution of the Strict Observance had never been considered. As to the validity of the briefs, the pontiff insisted that they had been issued after a thorough investigation of all questions involved; consequently the charges against them were lacking foundation.[36]

In May, the persistent queen turned with a similar letter directly to the congregation[37] and followed it by still another appeal addressed to Alexander VII which was carried by Cardinal de Retz.[38] On December 6, 1665, as a last effort, the same cardinal handed to the pope a short letter and a lengthy memorandum written by Anne, already fatally ill, dated October 30, 1665. At the same time, the influential Cardinal Albizzi, who was believed to favor the Reform, also received from her a personal note. The queen did not hesitate to affirm that there was nothing that might promote more the glory of God than the conservation of La Rochefoucauld's reform, and there was no cause closer to her heart than that of the Strict Observance.[39]

Besides Queen Anne, the "abstinents" placed much confidence in the diplomatic ability of Cardinal de Retz. He had offered his good services in behalf of the Reform several times in the past,[40] and after his arrival at Rome in mid-June, 1665, he did his best to back up his words with deeds. The chief purpose of his mission was to bring about an accord between the clashing views of the Sorbonne and the Holy See over the most disputed questions of Gallicanism, but he found ample opportunity to plead for the Strict Observance, both with the pope and with the members of the congregation; in fact, the pontiff seemed to be more eager to discuss Cîteaux than the Sorbonne.[41] The eventual results, however, fell far short of the "abstinents'" optimistic expectations.

[35] At present only the Italian summary of this memorandum is available in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 321-323.

[36] Rospigliosi to Roberti, April 21, 1665. Nunz. Fr., 315, fol. 92.

[37] Cf. a reference to it, *ibid.*, fol. 106.

[38] Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

[39] Cf. quotations from the letters and the memorandum, *ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268; 293.

[41] On the mission of de Retz at Rome in general, cf. Régis Chantelauze, *Le Cardinal de Retz et sez missions diplomatiques à Rome* (Paris, 1879), with references to Cîteaux on pp. 225, 237. More details in Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-314.

As the further course of the congregation's activity revealed, the entreaties of lesser potentates were simply ignored, but the queen's intercession could not be entirely dismissed. The idea of issuing a special brief reaffirming the validity of former papal pronouncements in condemnation of La Rochefoucauld's sentences was abandoned and the definitive apostolic constitution began to take shape. This was to incorporate both the issues of the general reform and the future status of the Strict Observance. However, since the congregation was unwilling to modify its basic attitude merely for the queen's sake, much thought was given to the possible reaction of the royal court toward the inevitable censure of the Reform. Confidential information corroborated Vaussin's previous assurances to the effect that besides Anne of Austria, the Strict Observance had no longer influential backers at the court and that the young king showed no particular sympathy for the Reform.[42] Yet, it was evident, too, that as long as the queen was alive, the planned constitution could not be published without unpleasant consequences.

Meanwhile, the reformed delegates intensified the pressure upon the congregation by frequent personal calls and a veritable flood of written memoranda, protests, and petitions. It was during the absence of de Rancé that the Abbot of Val-Richer finally produced a plan for a general reform.[43] Although he rejected the interpretation of the rule as presented by the Common Observance, insisting that the rule should be kept in its entirety, he made some positive suggestions concerning the education of novices, the central government of the order, the system of visitation, and Cistercian liturgy.

When the returned de Rancé understood that, despite his colleague's protest, Vaussin's plan for a general reform was under consideration as the basis of the future papal constitution, that document became the target of his devastating attacks. With as much ridicule and sarcasm as his Latin prose could convey he tried to prove that the abbot general's propositions were not only useless, wholly impractical or even absurd, but malicious and hypocritical, designed solely for misleading the prelates by the false pretenses of a chimerical reform.[44] The twenty

[42] Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[43] Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 157-160.

[44] *Ibid.*, fols. 251-255; and the same in Ottob. Lat., 3161, fols. 228-232, calling the Common Observance habitually "Cistercienses Laxioris Observantiae" and ending with an inevitable excuse for the harsh tone: ". . . si vero duriora quaedam expressisse viderentur, charitas Ordinis, ipsiusque vulnera detegendi urgens necessitas causa fuit."

points of the earlier questionnaire were not only answered by the reformed abbots, but they added sixteen other paragraphs in sharp criticism of the administration of the order.[45] Another memorandum, addressed to the cardinal members of the congregation, contended that the Strict Observance was not a schismatic movement and its existence was no threat to Citeaux. On the other hand, the subordination of the Reform to Citeaux would mean its immediate destruction; therefore, a degree of autonomy, under a vicar and separate chapters, was an absolute necessity. Finally, the abbots took great pains to demonstrate that the reform of the Strict Observance was much more than merely the restoration of perpetual abstinence and that the reform in France was a distinct and separate issue in no way connected with the general reform of the order elsewhere; consequently, the cardinal while approving the latter had no reason to condemn the former.[46]

The written apologies of the cause of the Strict Observance were followed up by frequent personal interviews with the members of the congregation, but de Rancé's bellicose temper scarcely promoted greater understanding for his plea. He quarreled repeatedly even with cardinals who could not suppress their growing suspicion that, after all, the Roman popular consensus was correct and the driving force behind the movement of the Strict Observance was just another manifestation of the *furia francese*.[47]

During the summer of 1665, however, the Strict Observance scored a measure of success by capitalizing Vaussin's imprudent behavior in Paris. The abbot general could not refrain from broadcasting his triumph in Rome. He claimed an unqualified victory over his opponents and predicted the issuance of a bull to that effect within six weeks. Moreover, his secretary produced the alleged copy of the document which then received much curious attention.[48] The indignant Jouaud promptly presented the text to the queen while simultaneously he reported the incident to Rome. The congregation found itself in an embarrassing situation. The prelates hastily denied that there was

[45] Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 163-168; another printed copy, *ibid.*, fols. 501-512.

[46] Ottob. Lat., 3161, fols. 234-235; a similar composition, *ibid.*, 214-217; various other items of criticism addressed to Fagnani, Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fols. 227-232.

[47] Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[48] Cf. the summary of Jouaud's report to Rome, dated June 19, 1665, in Bibl. Ap. Vat., Vaticana Latina,.7488, fols. 235r-235v.; cf. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

anything ready for immediate release and it was soon rumored that punitive action was considered against the Common Observance. This time Vaussin became alarmed and found it necessary to ask for immediate moral support from his powerful patrons.[49] His anxieties, however, proved to be groundless. The basic attitude of the congregation remained the same, although its work was continued in greater secrecy.

With the exception of a few paragraphs and minor modifications, by the fall of 1665 the composition of the apostolic constitution had been completed, although, due to the queen's forbidding attitude, its publication had to be further delayed. Early in December news arrived at Rome that Anne's illness had taken a fatal turn and that her death was expected at any time. On December 14 the congregation at a session held in the greatest secrecy agreed upon the final form of the constitution, now ready for publication. After the queen died on January 20, 1666, the long proceedings headed for a speedy conclusion.[50]

The departure of the only powerful patron of the Strict Observance from the troubled scene threw de Rancé into desperation. He foresaw not only the inevitable dissolution of his observance, but a ruthless persecution of his own person. The future proved him wrong on both counts, but at that moment he applied for dispensation from his profession and permission to join the Carthusians, in case he could not find peace at La Trappe.[51] The abbot saw no reason to prolong his stay in Rome and requested a final audience with the pope. The ailing pontiff granted the audience which took place on February 21, but to the great chagrin of de Rancé, he was prohibited from mentioning the case of the Strict Observance. He departed for France on March 25, leaving Abbot George behind to wind up their fruitless mission in Rome.[52]

After fifteen months of wearisome negotiations the congregation, too, was ready to complete its task by presenting the final text of the

[49] There is only one such letter of recommendation in Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fol. 9, by Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé ("The Grand"), dated August 24, 1665.

[50] Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316.

[51] The dispensation was granted through the services of Retz but never used. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 320-322. The fact that the Abbot of Val-Richer was left behind was mentioned in a letter of Retz to Lionne, June 1, 1666. *Oeuvres du Cardinal de Retz*, edited by R. Chantelauze (Paris, 1882), VII, 247.

constitution to Alexander VII. A last session was held on March 22, but apparently it dealt largely with technicalities.[53] The completed document, which was to regulate Cistercian life until the French Revolution, and which was called after its first two words *In suprema,* was approved and sealed by the pontiff on April 19, 1666.

The famous bull opened with three paragraphs sketching a brief historical background and emphasizing its purpose: a universal reform, and the preservation of the organic unity of the order. Then followed the body of the constitution, a chapter-by-chapter interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict, essentially the same text that had been presented by the representatives of the Common Observance. Additional paragraphs dealt particularly with the problems pertaining to the Strict Observance, while two final paragraphs constituted the formal closing of the document.[54] The significance of the *In suprema* reached far beyond the feud of observances. Here, however, only its position toward the key issues of that great debate can be briefly discussed.

In the matter of perpetual abstinence the practice of the Strict Observance was approved, but the Common Observance was permitted to serve meat on three days of the week, except during Advent, Lent from Septuagesima Sunday on, and on other days of abstinence specified by common law, when total abstinence was prescribed. Transition from one observance to the other was permitted only with the consent of higher authorities. Superiors, however, were prohibited from using pressure to force individuals to join the "abstinents" if they had not been educated in that observance. Visitors were to be chosen from either observance; the College of St. Bernard in Paris, which for the past thirty years had been the headquarters of the Reform, was subordinated to the general chapter and to the abbot

[53] Retz to Lionne, March 23, 1666. *Oeuvres,* VII, 194. Retz complained that although the reformed abbots were no longer consulted, Vaussin's representatives were twice called. At that time Cardinal Franciotti's place as protector of the order, who had died on February 8, 1666, was taken by Cardinal Nini. Cf. Canivez, *op. cit.,* VII, 444.

[54] The text of the *In suprema* has survived in countless copies, both in manuscript and in print. Cf. the latest reprint of the authentic text in Canivez, *op. cit.,* VII, 426-437. On the basis of the Vatican manuscripts the textual history of the bull could easily be clarified. The paragraphs of the interpretation of the rule, as originally composed and presented by the Common Observance, were left virtually intact. Slight changes, mostly in favor of the Strict Observance, were made (numbers referring to the paragraphs in the edition of Canivez) concerning visitation (12), monastic officials (14), fiscal administration (21), absti-

general; priors and confessors for "abstinent" monasteries *in commendam* were to be appointed from the ranks of the Strict Observance; all novices in both observances were to be educated under the same discipline with the sole exception of perpetual abstinence. With obvious reference to Richelieu's role, the office of the abbot general was restricted to the members of the order. In abbatial election both the active and passive vote was assured to all members of the order, regardless of their observances. The monasteries belonging to the Strict Observance were to be divided into two provinces[55] each headed by a provincial visitor, elected from the members of the same observance by the secret vote of the abbot general, the four proto-abbots (those of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond) and the ten definitors of the Strict Observance.

The validity of the four contested briefs was reaffirmed and perpetual silence was imposed in that matter upon the "abstinents." Thus La Rochefoucauld's regulations were definitely set aside, although the constitution assured the Strict Observance that all monastic professions made previously in reformed houses were regarded as valid. As a gesture of appeasing the "abstinent" leaders, the bull demanded the appointment of ten members of the Strict Observance to the body of definitors, the same number as the representatives of the Common Observance, although numerically the Strict Observance was by far the inferior. The personal good will of Alexander VII toward the Reform was clearly expressed in one of the last paragraphs of the bull. There, the Strict Observance received

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nence (23), admission and education of novices (30-31). The final paragraphs were composed and added by the congregation, which incorporated the essentials of the brief planned at the early stage of the negotiations (40-48). According to the La Trappe narrative (Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 318) the pope repeatedly consulted Bona, and the changes in favor of the Strict Observance were made under his influence. The two paragraphs (47-48) praising the "abstinents" and confirming the validity of their novitiates and professions, according to the same narrative, were added to the text on the pope's insistence, immediately before its final approval (Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-335). The opening sentence of the bull originally began as "In Specula Militantis Ecclesiae . . .", and was only later changed to "In Suprema Sedis Apostolicae Specula . . ." Concerning this cf. Misc. Arm., VIII. 99, fol. 540, or 551; for the full and final text in ms. cf. *ibid.*, fols. 579-594.

[55] The general chapter of 1667 divided the fifty-six houses of the Strict Observance into three provinces. The total number of Cistercian monasteries in France was about 200. Cf. Canivez, *op. cit.*, VII, 453-454.

the highest praise for its exemplary discipline; furthermore, the pope expressed his desire for its steady growth and obliged the abbot general to protect it and to promote its spread throughout the order.

Obviously, the provisions of the apostolic constitution pleased the Common Observance only, while it fell far short of the requirements of the Strict Observance, termed by them as the minimum for the safe survival of the Reform. The virtually independent status of the "abstinents" was abolished; neither vicar nor separate chapters were permitted, and since the future expansion of the Strict Observance became dependent upon the free choice of individuals, its growth was sharply curtailed. Nevertheless, the measure of autonomy granted by the constitution proved to be sufficient for safeguarding the inner strength of the Reform which, in fact, under a merely token control of Citeaux, survived until the French Revolution.

However significant the terms of the *In suprema* proved to be for the more distant future, at the time of its publication it failed to restore the much desired peace and unity between the warring factions. The frustrated leaders of the Strict Observance were as reluctant as ever to bow before the authority of the papal bull. Only another decade of vain resistance forced them to the grudging acceptance of the role assigned to them by the will of Alexander VII.

University of Dallas

MISCELLANY

THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 28-30, 1958

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Association, held at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, was one of the largest and most lively in recent years. The registration of 188 was only eight below the top figure for 1957 and the annual luncheon drew 147 which was twenty-two more than the New York luncheon the previous year. Attendance at the business meeting on the afternoon of December 28 was about the customary fifty members, but the session on the Catholic question in American presidential campaigns drew the largest audience of any of the Association's sessions in the memory of the members. The joint session with the American Historical Association on Tuesday, December 30, was also very well attended by approximately 250 persons.

The reports of the officers and committee chairmen which were read at the business meeting will be found in this issue of the REVIEW, and the presidential address of Professor Kuttner was published in the last number of our journal. At the luncheon on December 29 the report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize was made by Father Harry J. Sievers, S.J., of Bellarmine College in the unavoidable absence of the chairman, Monsignor George J. Undreiner of the Pontifical College Josephinum. The committee awarded the prize for 1958 to Father John M. Daley, S.J., dean of the Graduate School of Georgetown University, for his volume, *Georgetown University: Origins and Early Years.* Father Daley was present in person to receive the $200.00 prize from the presiding prelate, the Most Reverend Philip M. Hannan, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington.

Immediately after the close of the luncheon the session on "The 'Catholic Question' in Presidential Campaigns" got underway in the State Room with Arthur Krock of the Washington Bureau of the New York *Times,* as chairman. The first paper, treating the years 1865-1900, was read by Vincent P. De Santis of the University of Notre Dame and the second, covering the years from 1900 to the present, was delivered by Edmund A. Moore, formerly head of the Department of History in the University of Connecticut. The discussion leader was J. Joseph Huthmacher of Georgetown University. The joint session with the American Historical Association on Tuesday afternoon, December 30, in the Grand Ballroom

had John Francis Bannon, S.J., of Saint Louis University as chairman for the general theme of "The Enlightenment and the Catholic Church in Latin America." This topic was treated under two headings, viz., in the universities by John Tate Lanning of Duke University and among the clergy by Karl M. Schmitt of the University of Texas. The discussion was led by Clement H. Motten of Temple University.

The fortieth annual meeting of the Association will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago on December 28-30, 1959. Following are the reports of the officers and committee chairmen:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Financial Statement from December 15, 1957, to December 15, 1958

Account I—General Fund

Investments—December 15, 1957			$7,101.94
Cash on hand—December 15, 1957		$10,165.18	
Receipts:			
Annual dues	$6,897.50		
Income from investments	523.45		
Donations to annual meeting expense	716.25		
Receipts for year		8,137.20	
Total receipts		$18,302.38	$7,101.94
Disbursements:			
Office expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 75.04		
Supplies and sundry	392.80		
Office secretary's salary	1,290.43	1,758.27	
Annual meeting expense—1957		716.27	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		200.00	
Catholic Historical Review		4,596.66	
Investments		999.75	999.75
Total expenditures		8,270.95	
Balance on hand, December 15, 1958		$10,031.43	
Investments, December 15, 1958			$8,101.69

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT
Publication of Documents

Cash on hand, December 15, 1957		$2,358.94
Receipts:		
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$11.00	
Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States*	12.00	
Total receipts		23.00
Disbursements:		
None		
Balance on hand, December 15, 1958		$2,381.94

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SUMMARY

Investments—Account I		$8,101.69
Cash on hand:		
Account I	$10,031.43	
Account II	2,381.94	
	$12,413.37	

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

Interest:		
Morris and Essex	$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad	70.00	$140.00
Dividends:		
Bank of America	$180.00	
Montana Power	100.00	
Public Service Company of New Hampshire	70.00	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund	33.45	383.45
		$523.45

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

President: Harry W. Kirwin, Loyola College, Baltimore

First Vice-President: Paul Horgan, Roswell, New Mexico

Second Vice-President: Eric McDermott, S.J., Georgetown University

Treasurer: John K. Cartwright, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington

Secretary: John Tracy Ellis, The Catholic University of America

Executive Council (for a three-year term):
Joseph H. Dahmus, Pennsylvania State University
William O. Shanahan, University of Notre Dame

Committee on Nominations:
James A. O'Connell, St. John's University, New York, *chairman*
Sister Rita Mary McBride, O.P., Albertus Magnus College
Ambrose Zenner, O.S.B., Mount Angel Abbey

Committee on Program:
Raymond H. Schmandt, Loyola University, Chicago, *chairman*
Vincent P. DeSantis, University of Notre Dame
Lawrence J. McCaffery, College of St. Catherine

Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for a three-year term):
Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS, 1958:
JOHN R. BETTS,
Boston College, *chairman*
MARGUERITE GREEN, R.S.C.J.,
Barat College
ALOYSIUS PLAISANCE, O.S.B.,
St. Bernard College

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JOHN CARROLL PAPERS

The project for the collection, editing, and publication of the papers of Archbishop John Carroll (1735-1815) originated soon after the formation of the National Historical Publications Commission in 1950. The American Catholic Historical Association in 1951 appointed a Committee on the John Carroll Papers, and efforts were made to gather copies of Carroll letters from widely scattered sources. The background and early history of the work was reported in 1952 in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* by the Reverend Henry J. Browne, then secretary of the committee.[1] The Carroll project was included in a report to the President

[1] Henry J. Browne, "A New Historical Project: Editing the Papers of Archbishop John Carroll," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXXVII (November, 1952), 341-350.

by the National Historical Publications Commission in 1954, along with other similar programs proposed or under way.[2] The "national program to encourage the publication of the basic source materials of American history" received the approval of the Congress of the United States in a joint resolution agreed to on August 22, 1957, which stated that the publication of such source materials "would contribute to a better understanding of the history of the United States in all of its manifold aspects, and would thereby strengthen the defense of our country against its enemies," and urged the co-operation of groups and individuals throughout the nation.

The major collection of Carroll papers was gathered during 1952-1955 by Father Browne with assistance from Monsignor John Tracy Ellis. Copies of nearly 700 letters written by Archbishop Carroll were acquired in photostat form or on film. Large groups came from the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, the records of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome, Woodstock College, and the English Jesuits at Stonyhurst College. Smaller collections or individual items have been received from the Archdiocese of Quebec, Georgetown University, the University of Notre Dame, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Irish Province of the Jesuits, the Maryland Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, the Carmelite Monastery of Baltimore, St. Joseph's Central House in Emmitsburg, Marygrove College in Detroit, Indiana University, Harvard University, the Chicago Historical Society, and private persons. Moreover, we have been promised Carroll material from St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, and we have references to several scattered letters. If anyone knows of or hears about other Carroll letters, the committee will be grateful for hints and suggestions, for we do want the work to be as complete as possible.

The editing of the Carroll Papers has moved ahead gradually. The Reverend Charles H. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College, has completed work on all the letters written in Latin and a number in English—about 300 in all. Dr. Annabelle M. Melville of Bridgewater State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, is working on the letters with texts in French. Various periodicals have been searched for Carroll material, and references noted will be checked against the main file at the Catholic

[2] *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents. A Report to the President by the National Historical Publications Commission* (Washington, 1954). This program also included proposed work on the papers of James Cardinal Gibbons and Roger B. Taney, and listed as subjects for possible treatment the papers of the following American Catholic leaders: François Norbert Blanchet, Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., John Hughes, John Ireland, Junípero Serra, Alfred Emmanuel Smith, and Thomas James Walsh.

University of America. With the present chairman of the committee conducting courses at the Catholic University of America this coming summer, there will be opportunity to speed the work considerably.

Now, it may be in order to make a few remarks on the subject matter of the Carroll Papers as a sort of preliminary view of what may be expected in the published volumes. Possibly the most interesting letters are those penned by Carroll to his English friend, the Reverend Charles Plowden. Written in an informal, almost chatty, manner, these epistles report many of Carroll's activities, problems, and plans, and taken as a group provide a splendid insight of the situation faced by the first bishop in his struggle to organize the Church in the United States. On a different plane are the letters concerning the establishment of the German congregation in Philadelphia and those dealing with the difficulties presented by obstreperous clergy in New York. It becomes apparent that one of Carroll's great concerns was the worldly attitude of particular priests and their disinclination to obey his instructions. On yet another level are the letters to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of Propaganda, reporting formally the progress of American ecclesiastical affairs. Some excerpts from a letter of April 23, 1792, will serve to illustrate the highly interesting nature of the material—and will show, also, something of Carroll's character and ability.

. . . The Sacred Congregation knows how, in the providence of God, some good has issued from the most unfortunate turmoil in France. It provided the occasion for some priests of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, in Paris, to come to this place [Baltimore]. Under their splendid supervision an episcopal seminary in this city came into being. Some thought was given to the matter before I left for Europe; on my return a decision was reached, with the result that last July four priests and five students of philosophy and theology arrived happily in this port. They were under Rev. Mr. Nagot, who, at one time, was in charge of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. For this place their arrival was indeed a new and extraordinary event, which may be regarded as a proof of special divine mercy towards us. Since I originated the idea of establishing the seminary in this episcopal see I received these religious with all the charity I could command. After they had secured a house that served their purpose they began studies and introduced regular order. They have already added to their number two young Americans, of proper age and well trained in the humanities. It is truly remarkable how these priests conduct themselves; they are highly praised for their piety; their example arouses and stimulates all of us who have been called to work in this vineyard of the Lord. Since their arrival there has been notable improvement in conducting ecclesiastical functions and in the celebration of divine worship. To such a degree is this the case that while the church in Baltimore is scarcely worthy of being considered a cathedral if one merely regards its size and external appearance, it can be regarded as such if one contrasts present conditions with the extreme simplicity of our beginning. This is indeed a great and singular blessing of God. Above all in importance is the fact that this seminary will provide for the education of the clergy in the faith, and in holiness of life.

About the same time that the seminary was begun a school for studies in humane letters was opened, namely the academy of Georgetown. We have reason to hope that this school will prove a fruitful nursery of students for the seminary, and eventually of outstanding ministers of the altar. This academy is greatly indebted to the liberality of the Sacred Congregation; but so meagre are its resources that it is emboldened to solicit the continued contribution of help in the form of one hundred gold pieces annually. I join in this, perhaps rather bold, request, because I foresee how useful this school will prove to be, and because I know how difficult it will be for it to keep going these first years.

Until these new institutions attain a certain completeness many opportunities for spreading our religion must be passed over. This is due to a shortage of priests, as well as to shortage of funds for meeting the expenses of those who are ready to undertake the long journey from Europe. Many Frenchmen, it is true, men of outstanding virtue, wish to come at their own expense. But when they come, their services in the sacred ministry are made almost useless because of their ignorance of our language. In addition to those who labor so conspicuously in the seminary only a few will find opportunity to work and reap abundant fruit. For this reason I invited two priests of the Society of Saint Sulpice, and they, together with a third who joined them, arrived a few days ago in this city. I shall assign one to the city called Vincennes on the Wabash river, some three hundred leagues from this city. The other I shall send to Kaskaskia and neighboring places, fifty leagues from Vincennes, and near the Mississippi river, a little above the confluence with the Ohio, known to the French as *La belle riviere*. Ever since I sought missionaries for these distant stations a cruel war has raged with the Indians who either live between us and these places, or not far from the road that the missionaries must travel. As the Indians are accustomed to inflict extreme torture on their captives I am at a loss what to do because I am very reluctant to expose such good men to such danger.

The letter goes on to discuss the synod held in Baltimore in 1791, reports at length on the situation of the Church in different parts of the country, and sets forth reasons for the naming of a second bishop. Other letters are equally fascinating, and I believe the publication of the Carroll Papers will make available a body of material historically important and unusually interesting.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

One of the major items of interest in the report of the secretary of any learned society is presumably the state of its membership since that is the norm that may be said to reflect the health—or lack of health—of organizations of this kind. In rendering this eighteenth consecutive account of my stewardship I am happy to tell you that the year now coming to a close finds our members still on the increase, and the fact that 1958 witnessed the accession of the second largest number of new members in a

decade would, according to the standard mentioned above, seem to indicate a sturdy condition. The exact figures are as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1957		1,030
Deaths	14	
Delinquents	60	
Resignations	12	86
		944
New members	115	
Renewals	16	131
Membership, December 15, 1958		1,075

That for the fourth year in succession we have been able to show a new high has been due in the main to the fine response of many of the members to the request of the executive office for names of likely persons to whom a direct appeal for membership might be made. By this means we were furnished with approximately 300 names of historians or others interested in history. By reason of the pressure of work in the office during the last two months we have to date been able to contact only about 200 of these persons, and thus around 100 remain to whom an invitation will be sent within the next few weeks. But the returns from those already reached has been sufficiently rewarding to prove the effectiveness of this type of approach, and for that gratifying result we are sincerely grateful to all those who took the time and trouble to list the names of prospective members for us. Previous to this request we had sent out a letter to the heads of about seventy-five Catholic educational institutions wherein we did not as yet have a member and that effort, too, netted a considerable number of favorable replies. Gradually, therefore, the Association and its activities are making their way into the faculties of most American Catholic institutions above the high school level, and it is to be hoped that the time may not be long delayed when there will not be a Catholic institution of higher learning in the United States that does not have at least one member of its history faculty enrolled in our ranks. I hardly need say that we warmly welcome as well the considerable number of teachers in the high schools and minor seminaries, although it would probably not be realistic to anticipate that the Association would ever find very widespread support on the secondary school level.

The encouraging new total of 1,075 members has, moreover, been gained in spite of the fact that during the past year we have suffered almost twice the number of losses through death than was true of 1957. The names of those who have died since we last met are as follows:

The Most Reverend Hubert J. Cartwright
Professor Carlos E. Castañeda
The Reverend Thomas Dennehy
The Reverend Robert H. Duffy
Miss Maria Ewing
The Most Reverend Laurence J. FitzSimon
The Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton
The Reverend Albert Kleber, O.S.B.
The Right Reverend Francis L. Leary
The Most Reverend Eugene J. McGuinness
The Reverend Brendan C. McNally, S.J.
Edward Cardinal Mooney
The Right Reverend William J. Rooney
Samuel Cardinal Stritch

Tomorrow morning I shall offer Mass for the repose of their souls, with a memento for all the Association's honored dead, and I would ask that you also remember them in your prayers.

The names and addresses of the 115 new members who have been formally enrolled here this afternoon are as follows:

Alberti, Miss Janice C., 318 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island 5, New York.
Barron, Mr. William S., Jr., The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.
Bartman, The Very Reverend Roger, O.F.M.Conv., 4017 Frankfort Avenue, Louisville 7, Kentucky.
Belanger, Sister Anne Aimée, F.S.E., Putnam Catholic Academy, Putnam, Connecticut.
Bleidorn, The Reverend Eugene F., 3257 South Lake Drive, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Burns, Sister Mary Sheila, C.S.A., Marian College, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.
Campbell, Sister M. Frances Therese, S.S.N.D., College of Notre Dame, Baltimore 10, Maryland.
Cannan, Professor Edward L., Jr., Texas Christian University, Fort Worth 9, Texas.
Carroll, The Most Reverend Colman J., 6301 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami 38, Florida.
Carroll, The Most Reverend Howard J., Box 369, Altoona, Pennsylvania.
Cary-Elwes, The Very Reverend Columba, O.S.B., St. Louis Priory, Creve Coeur, Missouri.
Casey, The Reverend Ambrose F., O.Carm., 1600 Webster Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Coleman, Mr. John F., St. Francis College, Loretto, Pennsylvania.
Conway, Dr. John, Master's Lodgings, Leverett House, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.
Corcoran, The Reverend Dean, O.F.M.Cap., St. Lawrence Seminary, Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin.
Corrigg, Miss Anne T., 41 North Cary Street, Brockton, Massachusetts.
Cunningham, Mr. Raymond J., The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

Czarnezki, Sister Cor Mariae, S.D.S., 4257 N. 100th Street, Milwaukee 16, Wisconsin.

D'Antoni, Mr. Blaise C., Assumption Seminary, 3016 West French Place, San Antonio 1, Texas.

De Santis, Dr. Vincent P., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Dieker, Sister Mary Alberta, O.S.B., Mount Angel College, Mount Angel, Oregon.

Dominic, Sister Mary, O.P., Queen of the Holy Rosary College, Mission San Jose, California.

Dziewanowski, Mr. M. K., 51 Reservoir Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Eichenlaub, The Reverend Gregory, O.S.B., 708 St. Michael's Lane, Gastonia, North Carolina.

Falvey, Sister M. Robertine, C.S.J., Star of the Sea Convent, 4350 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco 18, California.

Farrelly, The Reverend John, O.S.B., St. Anselm's Priory, Washington 17, D. C.

Frazee, The Reverend Charles, Marian College, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Glassco, Miss Mary Ellen, 611 McNeill Road, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Gohmann, The Reverend Myron, C.P., 1924 Newburg Road, Louisville 5, Kentucky.

Gopaul, The Reverend Paul A., S.P., Servants of the Paraclete, Jemez Springs, New Mexico.

Gore, Sister Thomas Mary, Blessed Trinity Juniorate, 3501 Solly Street, Philadelphia 36, Pennsylvania.

Gorman, Sister M. Adele Francis, O.S.F., 305 Notre Dame Convent, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Grady, The Right Reverend Thomas J., National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington 17, D. C.

Graham, Dr. John T., Saint Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa.

Griffin, Mr. Martin T. J., London House, Guilford St., London W.C. 1, England.

Guarino, Mr. John, 120 Maynard Road, Framingham, Massachusetts.

Halloran, The Reverend Emmett J., 1150 Buffalo Road, Rochester 11, New York.

Hanley, The Reverend Thomas O., S.J., Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

Hannah, Dr. James J., University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.

Harmond, Mr. Richard, 2728 Marion Avenue, Bronx 48, New York.

Hartzell, Father Philip Neri, O.S.B., St. Vincent College, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

Havran, Dr. Martin J., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

Helen, Mother M., R.S.H.M., Corvallis High School, Studio City, California.

Hickey, The Reverend Thomas D., 3600 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, Milwaukee 7, Wisconsin.

Hoessbacher, Sister M. Teresa, O.P., Molloy Catholic College for Women, Rockville Centre, New York.

Hoguet, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Louis, 47 East 92nd St., New York 28, New York.

Horrigan, Mr. J. A., 1842 Wayne St., Toledo 9, Ohio.

Huthmacher, Dr. J. Joseph, Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

Hyle, The Most Reverend Michael W., 2810 N. Monroe Street, Wilmington 2, Delaware

Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey.

Jacopin, Mr. Armand J., St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn 5, New York.

Joy, Mr. James B., North American College, via del Gianicolo 12, Città del Vaticano.

Kaiser, Mr. Arthur L., University of Buffalo, Buffalo 14, New York.

Keller, The Reverend Maurus R., O.S.B., St. Martin's College, Olympia, Washington.

Kennedy, Mr. Philip Wayne, 411 Legion Boulevard, Owensboro, Kentucky.

Kirley, The Reverend Harold C., S.J., Boston College, Chestnut Hill 67, Massachusetts.

Kline, The Reverend Edwin, C.S.B., Aquinas Institute, Rochester 13, New York.

Lee, Dr. James Michael, 649-51 Street, Brooklyn 20, New York.

Leen, The Reverend Arthur E., Mount St. Mary's Seminary of the West, Norwood 12, Ohio.

Leibold, The Most Reverend Paul F., 29 E. 8th Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Leo, Brother A., F.S.C., La Salle Academy, Providence 8, Rhode Island.

Loftus, Mr. Jerome C., American College, Louvain, Belgium.

Logan, Sister M. Scholastica, O.S.B., Mount Saint Benedict Academy, Crookston, Minnesota.

Lombard, Mr. Richard M., 112 Thurston Street, Somerville 45, Massachusetts.

Lubachko, Mr. Ivan, 409 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

Marranzini, Sister M. Angelica, 709 Tilden Street, Bronx 17, New York.

Martin, The Reverend Norman F., S.J., University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.

McCarthy, Mr. Joseph F. X., 641 Forest Avenue, Larchmont, New York.

McDonough, Mr. John J., Jr., 4204 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase 15, Maryland.

McDonough, The Reverend William V., C.S.V., 4170 Addison Street, Chicago 41, Illinois.

McNamara, Mr. James D., 8110 Oakleigh Road, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

McNulty, Mr. Edward M., 81 South Hermitage Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey.

Merikangas, Mr. Robert J., The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Miller, Dr. William D., Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

Milnar, Dr. Anthony L., Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio.

Morrison, Dr. John L., Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

Morrissey, Mr. G. H., 28 Stratford Road, West Hartford 5, Connecticut.

Murdock, Mr. John, Saint Mary's Seminary, Roland Park, Baltimore 10, Maryland.

O'Brien, The Reverend William, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

O'Neill, Mr. Daniel M., Catholic Country Day School, Browns Lane, Louisville 7, Kentucky.

O'Neill, Mr. David J., 964 E. 32nd Street, Brooklyn 10, New York.

O'Neill, Professor Eugene, 268-10 Union Turnpike, Floral Park, New York.

Pillar, The Reverend James J., O.M.I., Pine Hills Seminary, Pass Christian, Mississippi.

Reed, The Most Reverend Victor J., 1521 North Hudson, Oklahoma City 3, Oklahoma.

Reinmuth, Dr. H. S., Jr., 1120 23rd Street, Des Moines 11, Iowa.

Richard, Sister Mary, M.H.S., Most Holy Sacrament Teacher Training School, Lafayette, Louisiana.

Riedel, The Very Reverend Louis E., Rector, St. Francis Minor Seminary, 3600 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue, Milwaukee 7, Wisconsin.

Romano, Mr. Frederick P., 56 Clinton Avenue, Arlington, New Jersey.
Rowan, Sister M. Audrey, O.P., Albertus Magnus College, New Haven 11, Connecticut.
Ruety, The Reverend Albert, C.R., St. Mary's College, St. Mary, Kentucky.
Savage, Sister Marie Aimée, Georgetown Visitation Junior College, Washington 7, D. C.
Sawyer, Miss Mary L., 68 Walton Street, Portland, Maine.
Schmaltz, Sister Mary Norbett, C.PP.S., St. Mary's Junior College, O'Fallon, Missouri.
Schneider, Sister Mary Jeanette, R.S.M., Mercy College, Detroit 19, Michigan.
Seraphica, Sister M., I.H.M., 6226 Rising Sun Avenue, Philadelphia 11, Pennsylvania.
Sheldon, The Reverend Gilbert I., 5659 Mayfield Road, Cleveland 24, Ohio.
Sluszka, Dr. Sigmund, 294 Plainfield Avenue, Floral Park, New York.
Spalding, Brother David, C.F.X., 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland.
Specking, Sister M. de Pazzi, 2039 North Geyer Road, St. Louis 22, Missouri.
Strenski, The Reverend Joseph A., St. Francis Minor Seminary, 3600 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue, Milwaukee 7, Wisconsin.
Sullivan, The Reverend Edwin V., Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey.
Tatton, Mr. J. Meredith, Salt Creek Ranch, Refugio, Texas.
Tavard, The Reverend George H., A.A., Assumption College, Worcester 9, Massachusetts.
Teller, The Reverend Raymond J., 230 Haverford Road, Penn Wynne, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania.
Treuenfels, Mr. Rudolph L., 140 Bay Ridge Parkway, Brooklyn 9, New York.
Unterkoefler, The Reverend Ernest L., Box 2G, Richmond 3, Virginia.
Vorisek, The Reverend Rudolph, C.S.P., St. Peter's College, 605 Chapelgate Lane, Baltimore 29, Maryland.
Wall, Mr. Edward F., Jr., 77-12 35th Avenue, Jackson Heights, New York.
Walsh, Mr. Charles A., Box 497, Concordia, Kansas.
Walsh, Dr. Richard, Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.
Wang, The Reverend John, University of Dallas, Dallas 21, Texas.
Wood, The Reverend Thomas O., S.S., Box 49, Notre Dame, Indiana.
Wurz, Dr. John F., 201 Norwood Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Yuhas, The Reverend Cassian, C.P., Holy Family Monastery, West Hartford 7, Connecticut.
Zasacki, Mr. Robert W., 99 West 44th Street, Bayonne, New Jersey.

During the course of the past year the cordial relations of the Association with other historical groups have been maintained. For many years now our relationship with the American Historical Association, as you know, has been uniformly friendly and beneficial, so friendly, in fact, that on occasion it has been the subject of comment by Catholic scholars in other disciplines who have not found it as easy as we historians to maintain professional contacts with their opposite numbers among non-Catholic scholars. To cite a single example of the kind of thing I have in mind, one of our former presidents, Professor Martin R. P. McGuire,

has served for some years as a member of the American committee that works with the international commission whose business it is to arrange for the quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences. When the Bureau of the International Activities Committee, led by Sir Charles Webster, visited the United States for the first time last October, Professor McGuire and I, at the invitation of Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, were glad to be of some assistance in helping to entertain them on their visit to Washington. And you are too well aware of the success that has attended the joint sessions with the A.H.A. for me to emphasize here what excellent opportunities these annual sessions have afforded our members to meet and exchange ideas with historians outside the Church. Of more recent date other groups have shown an interest in closer relations with the Association, among them the Polish American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History. The latter has suggested, for example, that a joint session of our two societies be held at one of these annual gatherings, a suggestion that I shall gladly pass on to the chairmen in charge of our future programs.

On the whole the affairs of the Association's quarterly journal have likewise gone well over the past twelve months. In the category of subscribers—apart from members—we cannot show the increase that we did a year ago since our present total of 574 is only one above that for 1957 and the present 107 exchanges is one less than the number reported for last year. But the increased number of institutions and individuals who are now receiving the REVIEW by reason of our larger Association membership brings us out to a grand total of 1,756, a gain of forty-five over the total of members, subscribers, and exchanges at this time last year.

During 1958 the editors received thirty-four manuscripts for consideration, the highest number for a single year within my memory. Of these seven have been accepted and are already in print (including those in the forthcoming January issue), one was returned for suggested revisions, four have been accepted and are awaiting publication, and twenty-two were rejected either as lacking in originality and a high professional competence or because their contents did not pertain to the REVIEW's major interest which is the history of the Catholic Church. If we could somehow succeed in conveying to prospective contributors two points regarding their manuscripts we could, perhaps, greatly lessen the embarrassment that sometimes accompanies these rejections. The two points are these: first, THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is a scholarly journal and does not have space within the 136 pages to which its individual issues are limited for popular essays or articles that merely summarize from secondary sources already known facts; in other words, we try to insist that an article make a contribution to knowledge either through the

discovery of new facts based on original research or at least show a fresh interpretation or approach to previously known data. The second point is that the contents must relate in a fairly close manner to the history of Catholicism either in this country or abroad. If these comments, which will be printed in the spring issue of the REVIEW, can manage to win a closer reading among prospective contributors than would seem to have been true of previous statements of our editorial policy there should follow a decline in the high percentage of rejections of recent years. Incidentally, I might remark that out of 168 manuscripts submitted to the *American Historical Review* during 1958 only ten per cent were accepted for publication. Let me add a final remark on this subject, however, lest I should create the impression that virtually all the manuscripts submitted during the past twelve months have been defective, an impression that would be far from true. We have now on file four solid studies that make a real contribution to the topics to which they address themselves, articles which, I believe, would do honor to any reputable historical journal. One other matter, there were 262 ballots returned from members voting on new officers and committees for 1959.

In closing may I once again be your spokesman in expressing our thanks to the officers of the Association for 1958, to the members of its various committees, and to all who have in any way assisted in furthering the work which is our common enterprise. I have deliberately omitted mention, incidentally, of the only research project being conducted under the Association's auspices because I did not wish to trespass on Dr. Hoyt's territory as chairman of the Committee on the John Carroll Papers. I trust that it will not be taken amiss if I single out several persons who, it seems to me, deserve our special gratitude. In this category I think first of Dr. Francis L. Broderick of Phillips Exeter Academy who in his capacity as chairman of the program committee for this Washington meeting bore the brunt of the labor with his customary courtesy and wholehearted co-operation. And I should like to say once more how much the Association owes to Mrs. Ruth K. Carney, our highly efficient and ever willing office secretary, whose devotion to this work has grown with each succeeding month of the two years she has been with us; and also to Miss Mary Ellen Quill, secretary to Monsignor Cartwright, who although never seen at these gatherings has for so many years done us all a great service by the highly competent and unselfish manner in which she has kept our financial accounts under the supervising eye of the treasurer.

That each of you may have a blessed and joyful new year, and that we may all meet again a year hence at the Conrad Hilton in Chicago, is the parting thought and wish with which I should like to take leave of this brief chronicle of the Association's activities during 1958.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Studies in the Early British Church. By Nora K. Chadwick *et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 374. $8.50.)

Between the attacks of the Vikings and the coming of the Normans a loose unity of ecclesiastical custom and structure prevailed in all the lands washed by the Irish Sea. This volume presents six specialist studies of the church history of this area from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, mainly in Wales, with supplementary material from Scotland and Ireland. The editor and her contributors approach the written records of this period with a view to uncovering traces of an earlier epoch when oral tradition was the main vehicle of historical knowledge. This technique seems to achieve its best results in the first and last chapters, which are Mrs. Chadwick's paper on "Early Learning and Culture in North Wales," and Professor Jackson's study of "The Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern." Taken as a whole, the book is a valuable synthesis and reinterpretation of the findings of modern research into the middle period and decline of the Church as specifically adapted to the social structure of the Celtic lands; though the perpetuation, in a work of such high scholarship, of the term "British Church" strikes this reviewer as unfortunate. It tends to ensure the survival of the outmoded concepts of nineteenth-century historians who erected a set of local peculiarities in church organization and religious practice into a distinct entity which they designated the "Celtic Church." Until historians can agree upon a satisfactory English translation of Dom Louis Gougaud's admirable epithet "les Chrétientés Celtiques," the old legacy is likely to remain with us, and obscure the point that fundamentally the Church in the Celtic lands was one with the Church in the remainder of western Europe.

Mrs. Chadwick, in fact, shows in her first contribution that the court of North Wales in the ninth century was in touch with the Irish and Carolingian centers of scholarship. This was the environment in which Nennius composed the *Historia Brittonum,* incorporating in it traditions of the heroic age of north Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. In her second paper Mrs. Chadwick examines the intellectual achievement of the great Dark-Age monastic foundation of West Wales, Llanbadarn Fawr, which enjoyed close contact with the Irish schools and maintained a high standard of Celtic and classical scholarship into the eleventh century. She makes the interesting suggestion that the *magnum opus* of this school, Rhigyfarch's *Vita Sancti David,* was occasioned by the visit to St. David's

in 1081 of William the Conqueror. In fact, this *Vita* may be seen as one of the opening literary moves in the great ecclesiastical conflict between Norman reformers in the Cluniac tradition, and the Celtic patriots, which led to the demarcation of the first territorial sees in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Another literary product of this struggle, the Book of Llandaff, is critically examined by Professor Brooke who shows how the founders of the Norman Diocese of Llandaff enlisted the aid of the *familia* of another ancient Celtic monastery, Llancarfan. The *Liber Landavensis* which they produced *c.* 1135-1150 is a brilliant piece of historical forgery, ranking with Geoffrey of Monmouth's contemporary masterpiece, the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Dr. Kathleen Hughes, in a study of the twelfth-century manuscript, *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*, shows how hagiographical materials from both the above ancient Celtic monasteries were gathered by the Norman Benedictines of Gloucester Abbey; less, she suggests, for liturgical purposes than as an historical survey of the Celtic past. Dr. Hughes also contributes a paper on the distribution of Irish scriptoria, 730-1111.

JOHN MARTIN CLEARY

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Once to Sinai. The Further Pilgrimage of Friar Felix Fabri. By H. F. M. Prescott. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1958. Pp. 310. $5.00.)

In this popular account of Friar Felix Fabri's homeward journey from the Holy Land via the desert to Sinai and back to Europe via Egypt and Venice, Miss Prescott has proved once again what Helen C. White once called her "power of invoking the look and feel of a vanished moment." This popularization of Friar Felix's own *Evagatorium* is not only a product of extensive study and research; it is a travelogue which makes us live again in the Moslem world and catch a glimpse, through the twinkling eyes of a western pilgrim, of life as it was lived in the commercial world of the Mamluk Sultans and the Venetian Mediterranean empire. Following the itinerary of the Latin pilgrim from the holy places in Palestine to Mount Sinai and its monastery shrine of St. Catherine, we gain an insight not only into the Renaissance man's love for myth and allegory, facts and figures, but also—because of Friar Felix's lack of sympathy for the orthodox monks—of the obstacles that reunion work of the Council of Florence had to encounter in the minds of western as well as eastern Christians.

Following the caravan's further itinerary in the account of the friar and his Franciscan companion, Paul Walther, we gain a more sympathetic view of the Moslem world from the Dominican than from the Franciscan. The lovable guide of the pilgrims through the desert, Elphahallo; the

unprincipled Dragoman at Cairo, Taghribirdi; and the austere Dragoman at Alexandria, Shadbak; each of them personifying various aspects of Moslem culture, their figures rise and pass, one by one, guiding the pilgrims on their way for good or ill. Touring Cairo and Alexandria with Friar Felix, the reader easily forgets that the scenes were visited five centuries ago, so evocative is the power of Miss Prescott's detailed descriptions. We are carried back not only to the cities of the Mamluk Sultans but to those of the Egyptian Pharaohs, as when Friar Felix, seeing laborers in Cairo making bricks, is reminded how the children of Israel once labored there.

The constant comparison by Miss Prescott of the different points of view given by each of the pilgrims, and the chronicles from which she draws, give to her account a perspective enabling the reader to share the experiences of the pilgrims as if he were one of them. Fascinated with the Dominican friar's *joie de vivre,* she usually allows Friar Felix to speak for himself. She makes no attempt, on the other hand, to conceal her feminine dislike for Friar Paul, yet this reviewer noted in this sequel to *Friar Felix at Large* a note of sympathy even for the uncongenial Franciscan not found in the earlier book. Miss Prescott has evidently gained much from her painstaking historical studies over the years, not only in a knowledge of her mediaeval sources and her ability to handle them deftly and artistically, but also in her more sympathetic insight into the characters she chooses to study. The farther the journey back to Venice proceeds, the more flashes of appreciation for the good qualities of the Franciscan one catches in her quotations from Friar Paul's itinerary (Cf. pp. 230-223.) Among the more serious historical observations made by the author in the course of this book are those concerning mediaeval slavery, by way of comment on Felix's experiences in the slave market of Cairo. "Slavery was as fundamental to Moslem domestic life as it was to the edifice of the Mamluk state . . ." (p. 167). Here we witness scenes of poignant pathos, involving families sold into slavery, involving also Christian men and women who have apostatized in their Moslem captivity and who yet long to return to Europe and their Christian prayers. We are jolted at the thought of Venetians also engaging in this trade despite papal anathemas.

Once to Sinai reminds us that many of the problems plaguing the minds of men today are neither new nor easily solved. That even Christians attempted to solve them in the fifteenth century with principles of "enlightened self-interest" should sound a note of warning to contemporary man. The sale of vital war materials to the Turks by the Venetians despite efforts of "Pope after Pope" (p. 193) to prohibit the trade accounts for much of the continued rise of Moslem military ascendancy in those years. Then, as now, the Christians of eastern Europe were the ones who had to

bear the brunt of an eastern armored avalanche; then, as now, it was a policy of commercial expediency which traded "slaves and the souls of men" for monetary gain, which rebuffed papal censures, and papal efforts to effect a *rapprochement* in religious questions with the orthodox. Yet, strange to say, it would seem at times the sympathies of Miss Prescott lie rather with "Venetian statecraft" than with the papacy—a sympathy surely not shared by Friar Felix (Cf. pp. 193 and 228).

Would that the end of the narrative struck a note as joyful as the welcome Friar Felix received at the gate of his priory at Ulm from the "convent dog" and the Dominican friars, who were granted "recreation" not only that evening, but "over the whole of the following week." Would that the loss imminent to Christendom, of which Miss Prescott speaks, were no more than the loss imminent to Friar Felix—the loss of his pilgrim's beard which made him look "bolder, more considerable, more robust, comely and reverend . . ." But no, for all his evangelical simplicity, "in that which was nearest to his heart, the reform of the Monastic Orders," he looked back to the days of Dominic rather than ahead to those of Luther. He did not live "long enough to see that reformation shatter the unity of Christendom" (p. 285). He died, as he lived, in the pilgrim habit in which he had gone to Jerusalem, "obstinate sentimentalist that he was." This seems to be the thing about Friar Felix that endears him to the heart of Miss Prescott more than anything else.

HERMES KREILKAMP

St. Felix Friary
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The Life of Saint John of the Cross. By Crisógono de Jesús, O.C.D. Translated by Kathleen Pond. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1958. Pp. xvi, 400. $6.00.)

This life of St. John of the Cross is undoubtedly the best in the English language, and I dare affirm that the original is the best in the world. It is a notable achievement on the part of Harper Brothers to have published it in the United States and for Kathleen Pond to have gone to the labor of translating it for English-speaking readers. Both have done their work well. The author was a young Carmelite scholar whose early death leaves an unfilled gap in the ranks of Spanish workers in this field. Crisógono de Jesús was one of those rare spirits who are only satisfied with the best, in this case with a personal review of all the original sources. And with an extreme care he sends the reader back to them, not only by references at the foot of the page but also by quoting those very sources there, to verify what he had written above, sentence by sentence. In this English

version of the original Spanish the references are most carefully given—I have checked a number—but the *textes justificatifs* have gone. One English reader regrets this while admitting the practical necessity of it having been done. Let us give one example, for the sake of the readers of this learned journal.

There has been much uncertainty as to when St. John wrote his poems. Was it in prison? Did he only memorize them? If so, which ones? In the Spanish edition of the life (pp. 183 ff.), we have in the notes the following "declarations" made during the process for his beatification or that for his canonization by St. John's contemporaries. 1) Declaration of Ana de San Alberto: "He, Saint John, told me he refreshed himself with these verses *(canciones)*. 'Where didst thou hide Thyself, my Love?' and memorized them so as to write them down later. And also that other poem which begins 'By the side of the streams which were in Babylon.'" 2) Declaration of Inocencio de San Andrés: "There (i.e., in the prison) he composed those couplets which begin 'Where didst Thou hide Thyself . . . and left me groaning?'" Four of the nuns of the Toledo convent to which he fled after escaping from prison testified as follows: "There (i.e., in prison) he composed verses *(canciones)* and poems *(romances)* concerning very high matters on the holy Trinity. This he told us himself on the very day he was there (i.e., in the convent), and we four nuns were there and saw him and heard him recite these works." The only witness to his having written the *Noche Obscura* in prison is María de la Encarnación who alludes even to the commentary having been written there, too. "(In the prison) a little sunlight reached him through a tiny hole. This consoled him, and so he was able to write the commentary on those spiritual stanzas which he composed and which begin 'En una noche obscura.'"

The idea that he wrote the commentary there is unthinkable. Magdalena del Espíritu Santo tells us how far John had reached in composing his Spiritual Canticle when she declared—quoting the first line of the stanza—"up to the one which says 'Oh, ninfas de Judea.'" The declaration of Isabel de Jesús states: "I remember too that, on the occasion when we had hidden him in the church, he recited some verses *(romances)* which he knew by heart and which he had composed, while one of the nuns wrote them down; there were three of them, and all on the holy Trinity . . . I was a novice at the time in Toledo." The declaration of Constanza de la Cruz reads: "The saint was with us at the grille of the church speaking of many high matters concerning Our Lord and of a work he had composed in prison on the holy Trinity; and it was heavenly joy to listen to him." Although it would be fitting that St. John wrote his Dark Night poem in the prison, one cannot help feeling somewhat uncertain, as only one nun mentions it.

Here in this life of St. John of the Cross we have a prudent approach to the miraculous, a careful cataloging of his literary sources, a painstaking chronology of his life, a precise mapping of all his multitudinous journeys. Among the most interesting sections of the book are those on his method of being superior: Christlike in his kindness to the sick and the unfortunate, strong and outspoken in rebuking, completely trustful in Providence for money and food. The picture of the ascetic is somewhat toned down, perhaps, more than warranted by the evidence. We are not bound to believe that in the early days of the reform John of the Cross was the mirror of prudence. On the other hand, the mystic was no dreamer. He was all his life in the thick of the administration of the new group of Discalced much as was his friend, la Santa Madre Teresa. The picture we get is of an athlete of Christ, with mind as clear as light and with the sensibility of a great artist, a man who loved God first and last.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES

St. Louis Priory

Sources relatives au début du janséisme et de l'antijanséisme, 1640-1643. By Lucien Ceyssens, O.F.M. (Louvain: Editons Nauwelaerts. 1957. Pp. lxiv, 693. 620 frs. b.)

Though Jansenism is now one of those "unhappy far-off things," it comes to life again in the collection of documents edited by Father Lucien Ceyssens. As every student of ecclesiastical history knows, the trouble over Jansenism did not start until after the death—in the Church—of Cornelius Jansen. Following Jansen's death in 1640 his literary executors, Henry Calenus, a priest of Brussels, and Libert Froidmont, Jansen's successor in the chair of Sacred Scripture at the University of Louvain, edited and published the book which was to be the center of so many storms, the famous *Augustinus*. Just how soon these storms arose and how violently they raged is made clear by the documents edited by Father Ceyssens in this volume. From the very first item, an order from the internuncio at Brussels forbidding the printing of the *Augustinus*, to the 618th and final document, a supplement to the history of the Jesuit college at Ypres for 1643, in which one learns that the Bishop of Ypres was showing hostility to the Jesuits, the storm raged. The struggle in France revolving as it did around such colorful characters as Pascal, Mère Angélique, and the other Arnaulds, tended to overshadow the origins of Jansenism, but the documents in this volume reveal the drama, the tensions, and struggle which marked the very first days of Jansenism in its native habitat, the Spanish Netherlands.

Father Ceyssens has not only edited this great mass of documents, many of them hitherto unpublished, but he adds considerably to the value of the collection by a lucid sixty-four page introduction in French. In the introduction the editor first explains the background of the struggle, and then gives what he calls the *dramatis personae*. This cast of characters includes a thumbnail sketch of the principal writers or recipients of the 618 documents. Obviously, this is a great help to the readers and students of these source materials. The documents themselves are published in their original languages, mostly Latin, French, and Italian.

The editor has displayed not only industry but fairness in his scholarly work. His wide sweep of documents indicates an earnest attempt to get at all the source material of the place and period without reference to party or prejudice. It is unfortunate, however, that, at least in the opinion of this reviewer, a slight overtone of animus against the Jesuits seems to be present in the introduction. There is one occasion where the editor is of the opinion that the Jansenists scored a point over their opponents. The documents quoted by the editor in favor of this opinion do not seem to substantiate it. Father Ceyssens tells of the case of John Baptist Poza, S.J., whose book, *Elucidarium Deiparae*, had been condemned by the Holy Office in 1628 (p. xi). When in 1632 a corrected version of the *Elucidarium* together with some works defending it was published, the Holy Office condemned this also. Father Ceyssens then says: (reviewer's translation)

> When the nuncio at Brussels communicated this document to the bishops for publication, there was an intervention which could have been aroused only by the Jesuits: the Privy Council in the name of the Archduchess (Isabella) forbade the publication (of the Holy Office's ban). Ten years later this recourse of the Jesuits to the civil authority with a view to preventing the execution of a Roman order served the Jansenists admirably as an *ad hominem* answer. The anti-Jansenists opposed to this only very weak rejoinders.

In the first place Father Ceyssens gives no authority for the statement that the intervention could only have been caused by the Jesuits. His two references in the paragraph containing this statement deal with the decree of the Holy Office condemning Poza's work, and the interference of the Privy Council forbidding the publication of the Roman decree. In support of his statement that the Jesuits opposed only weak replies to the Jansenists' *ad hominem* charge Father Ceyssens refers to two documents as examples. In the first document, 236 (p. 236), Father André Jodoci, the Jesuit provincial, writes to Father Adrian Crom, dean of the Jesuit college at Louvain, on November 4, 1641, and bluntly terms the charge that the Jesuits stopped the publication of the bull condemning Poza through the chancellery of Brabant a calumny. Jodoci tells his fellow Jesuit that he went to the chancellery to investigate the charge and that they never even

heard the name of Poza there. Then he went to Auréle Augustin Van Maele, a member of the Council of Brabant who told him that when the bull condemning Poza was to be published he (Van Maele) along with another man stopped the publication without any intervention on the part of the Jesuits. Far from being weak, this would seem to be quite a strong answer, especially when one remembers that these statements were made in a private letter from one Jesuit to another. Father Ceyssens objects to this that it was not the Council of Brabant but the Privy Council that stopped the bull, and that the document Van Maele spoke of was the condemnation of 1628 not that of 1632 (p. xl, n. 6). This is hard to decide, but there seems to be no warrant in the documents for the editor's claim that it was not the bull of 1632 to which Van Maele referred. On the contrary, both Jodoci's letter and Ceyssens' footnote to it seem to indicate that it was the document of 1632 in question.

The second document given by Father Ceyssens as an example of a weak reply seems to this reviewer to be an even stronger reply than that contained in the first. In this document, 238 (p. 237), Father Jodoci, the Jesuit provincial, writes to Father Melchior Inchofer, S.J., a consultor to the Roman congregations, giving reasons why the Jansenists were trying to stop the promulgation of the bull condemning the book, *Augustinus*. Jodoci says that the Bishop of Antwerp told him that one reason given by the Jansenists was that they were imitating the Jesuits who through the Council of Brabant prevented the promulgation of the bull condemning Poza's *Elucidarium*. Now here is what Jodoci says to this charge: (reviewer's translation)

> He had marvelled at the impudence of these men who could so easily be convicted of lying. The Chancellor of Brabant is living who could easily testify that he never had the Society oppose the bulls of the Apostolic See which it revered in the very highest degree. The Archbishop of Consa, the apostolic nuncio here at that time, is living. Finally the Supreme Pontiff (Urban VIII) is still living who can easily testify that never had an obstacle been placed in the way of promulgation of papal bulls by the Society.

To this reviewer the above is quite a strong reply to the Jansenist claim that they were but imitating the Jesuits in trying to stop the publication of the bull condemning Jansen's *Augustinus*.

This criticism is not meant to distract from the over-all value of the work which is considerable. It will be a valuable addition to seminary libraries and, indeed, to the library of any serious student of the theology of grace or ecclesiastical history. To all such students Father Ceyssens has done a great service by his skill and diligence in editing these documents.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

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Three Cardinals: Newman, Wiseman, Manning. By E. E. Reynolds. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1958. Pp. ix, 278. $5.50.)

This latest study of the three outstanding English cardinals of modern times traces as far as possible their simultaneous development, and gives an excellent and readable account of their characters and achievements. The author refrains from judging their comparative merits; but his readers will have no trouble deciding which made the greatest and most enduring contribution to the welfare of the Church. He relies, by design, on secondary sources, already so copious, and he gives a small, select bibliography, plus occasional references in the footnotes. Unfortunately, no source is indicated for many of the excellent quotations that enrich the book. It is a good introduction to a rewarding field of study, and will be useful also to those who are already familiar with the great story it tells.

Though writers on these cardinals, and especially on Newman and Manning, often stress of necessity their mutual disagreements, one may marvel that they got on as well as they did, and that the small world of the English Catholics in the last century had room for one of them, not alone three. They would have dominated a larger stage at any time. Their relations with one another continue to fascinate us because they were not only great persons, they were types. Wiseman and Manning were cast in the role of administrator—the former somewhat unhappily—and Newman is the great thinker who belongs to succeeding generations more than to his own. The first two loomed large in their own day but are, inevitably, buried with it. Only a few specialists know or care much about the practical problems and achievements of the first two Archbishops of Westminster, while an ever growing number of educated people know the problems to which Newman devoted himself and the great contribution he made to their solution. His star continues to wax, and theirs to wane; and so it must always be.

Wiseman did a great work in England for which he needed Westminster and the red hat; but he was not a good administrator and many of his gifts were wasted when he became an ordinary. The Errington affair, from which only Errington emerged with credit, was due almost wholly to Wiseman's administrative incompetence, and Newman's troubles with the Achilli trial and the *Rambler* article delated to Propaganda had the same source. Wiseman had the widest range of interest and the warmest personality of the three and, alone of the trio, he had a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the others. Mr. Reynolds gives Manning full justice and a bit more. He was, all agree, an excellent administrator, a pioneer apostle of social justice, and a dedicated, industrious, competent, and self-denying servant of the Church who rendered great services from which his successors still benefit. He was an outstanding ecclesiastical

statesman. He was also a very narrow man, with a wide puritanical streak, who lacked humor and a sense of history, and who tended to view any disagreement with him as conscious opposition to the divine will. His own extremely strong will dominated his intelligence more than once. He was wrong on the university question, and on the way in which he defended the temporal power and the *Syllabus of Errors*. He was wrong in his persistent opposition to Newman, whom he never understood, and of whose influence in England he was jealous. Mr. Reynolds denies the jealousy without providing any other explanation of his conduct. It is unfair to place the blame for what was unworthy in Manning's actions on Talbot and Ward, weaker men than he. Manning's eulogy of Newman was a generous effort to make amends when the object of his jealousy was removed from the scene. Newman's story is told well too. Because it is so well known today, the chief value of this book for students lies in its study of the other two who are already overshadowed by him. The book is also a novel approach to a much handled theme, and the author is to be congratulated on his successful use of a new method.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

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GENERAL HISTORY

A Social and Religious History of the Jews. By Salo W. Baron. Vols. I-II, *Ancient Times,* Parts I and II. Second edition revised and enlarged. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 415; vi, 493. $12.00); III, *High Middle Ages, 500-1200: Heirs of Rome and Persia;* IV, *High Middle Ages, 500-1200: Meeting of East and West;* V, *High Middle Ages, 500-1200: Religious Controls and Dissensions.* (*Ibid.* 1957. Pp. x, 340; 352; 416. $6.00 per volume, $15.00 the set.)

The first two volumes of this important work, apparently, were not reviewed previously in this journal. Hence before considering Volumes III-V, it will be necessary to give a brief characterization of Volumes I-II. They were published in their first edition in 1937. While Jewish and Christian scholars challenged the author on certain points, their general verdict was very favorable. The work was welcomed as a scholarly, comprehensive, and up-to-date history of Jewish religion, and of Jewish social life and institutions, from the Patriarchal Age to the close of the Talmudic Period (500 A.D.). A new edition, completely revised and enlarged, was published in 1951 and reprinted the following year. Many changes were made in the main text, and the notes—now relegated

to the end of each volume—were enriched with much new comment and reflect the marked effort made by the author to control firsthand the books and articles published during the years 1936-1951. Catholics will be especially interested in Professor Baron's treatment of Christ, St. Paul, and the first centuries of the Church. While his position on several fundamental points cannot be accepted, it is a pleasure to note the temperateness of his exposition and to record that he has not neglected Catholic scholarship.

Now, after an interval of six years, he has given us three new volumes, which cover the religious and social history of the Jews from c. 500 to c. 1200 A.D. Three more volumes will complete the work: Volume VI, Laws, Homilies, and the Bible; VII, Hebrew Language and Letters; VIII, Philosophy and Science. Each volume is paginated separately, but the chapters, beginning with Volume I, are numbered in sequence. Thus, Volume III begins with Chapter XVI.

The three new volumes must be regarded as a major contribution not only to Jewish history but also to mediaeval history in general. While there are numerous monographs and articles on the various aspects of Jewish life in the Middle Ages, especially on a regional basis, a scholarly and up-to-date synthesis has been badly needed, and it is precisely this kind of a work that Professor Baron is furnishing us. Volume III covers the history of the Jews in the pre-Islamic world—in Italy, Visigothic Spain, Merovingian France, and Persia—the spread of Islam and the relations between Arabs and Jews, the Jews in the Byzantine Empire, the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, and the Jews among the Slavs and Magyars. Volume IV is concerned with the history of the Jews in western Christendom, the attitude of the Church and of civil rulers toward them, the Jews in the age of the Crusades and the growing tension between Jews and Christians in this period and their causes, and the economic transformation of the Jews from farmers into manufacturers, traders, and bankers, its causes and results. Volume V deals with the internal and, particularly, with the religious history of the Jews. It covers the Jewish community as a whole and in its parts, socio-religious controversies of various kinds, messianism and sectarian movements, and the Karaite Schism.

Professor Baron's synthesis is both solid and comprehensive. Jewish religious and social history is always presented within the general framework of the general political, social, economic, religious, and intellectual life of the East as well as of the West during the period covered. Again, one can only commend his temperateness and objectivity in dealing with a history in which the tragic experiences and sufferings of the Jews bulk so large. The Church's insistence that the Jews had certain basic rights

and that the popes often intervened in their behalf is recognized. However, even when all factors and facts, including mutual ignorance, prejudice, and animosity are critically examined and weighed in the balance, the treatment of the Jews in western Christendom as a whole during the period covered makes painful reading. Each of the three volumes is furnished with copious notes which include pertinent bibliography, but, unfortunately, they do not have indices. An index to Volumes III-VIII is promised for Volume VIII, and there is also to be a general bibliography to the whole work.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

History of the Byzantine State. By George Ostrogorsky. Translated from the German by Joan Hussey. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xxv, 548. $12.50.)

Professor Ostrogorsky published his *History of the Byzantine State* in Germany in 1940, and a second revised German edition appeared in 1952. Although there exist other handbooks of Byzantine history, e.g., that by A. Vasiliev in two volumes, published in French, English, Spanish, and Turkish, and L. Brehier's French work in three volumes, it is generally recognized that Professor Ostrogorsky's work is the best one-volume history of the Byzantine Empire. He has mastered the sources exceedingly well as can be seen from the discussions of various problems in the footnotes. At the beginning of each chapter he indicates the most important bibliography—also in Slavic languages—pertinent to the subjects, without neglecting minor literary contributions to the solution of important problems. These indications, and his analysis of the sources indispensable to the study of the different periods of Byzantine history, are characteristic features of this book and enable the specialist to follow the author's solution of the problems discussed. Although written in a thoroughly scholarly manner, the volume, due to the clarity of the presentation of its subject matter, can be read with profit by the general reader interested in Byzantine history.

The author is naturally interested in the political history of the Byzantine Empire and he observes chronological order in his treatment. He pays due attention to the social, administrative, and economic factors, incorporating the latest results of research, so that his work gives the reader a clear idea of the importance played by these factors in the different periods of Byzantine history. Religious questions are not neglected, although sometimes the reader may wish that some of these had been treated more fully. It was, however, not the purpose of the

author to write a religious history of Byzantium. It is gratifying to find that he has clearly outlined, especially in the first chapters, the links which tie Byzantium to the classical age. Professor Ostrogorsky is always ready to accept the results of new research, even if they change his former thesis, e.g., he admits in his second edition, that the oriental influence on certain features of Byzantine political life, especially the peculiar glory of the Byzantine imperial court had developed "from something which already contained many oriental elements, and these were to be still further accentuated by direct borrowing from the East, from the Sassanids, and later the Muslim Caliphate" (p. 29). In this second edition new material is used, such as the description of the Slavic invasions into the provinces of the empire, on the Slavization of a great part of Greece and on the gradual Hellenization of the new invaders in Greece and in Peloponnesus. The relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the first half of the tenth century (pp. 231 ff.) is also presented in a new and better light. He rightly stresses the fact that Symeon's "ambition was not the foundation of a national Bulgarian empire, confined within territorial limits and existing side by side with the Byzantine Empire, but the creation of a new universal Empire which would take the place of Byzantium."

The author is a specialist in Byzantine economic history. His knowledge of this field has helped him disentangle the many problems concerning agrarian conditions in the empire. And here we see in his exposé, new progress in his research as compared with that given in the first edition. There is one point on which one wishes the author had been more outspoken. Professor Charanis published a study in *Byzantion* [XIX (1947) 17 ff.], in which he showed that negotiations with Pope Urban II for ecclesiastical reunion started by the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, and his appeal for help against the Seldjuk Turks, gave the pope the idea of a crusade. Ostrogorsky rejects this thesis, but the arguments given by Charanis seem convincing.

The American edition of the English translation (published in 1956) has two advantages over the other editions. It has numerous illustrations, superbly reproduced and several well designed, colored maps showing the development of the empire in different periods. These are very welcome additions. We should be thankful to Professor Charanis who prepared and prefaced the American edition and to Rutgers University Press for having made this excellent work available to American readers.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

The Scholastic Analysis of Usury. By John T. Noonan, Jr. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 432. $9.00.)

Mr. Noonan labels his work "a simple history of thought." It is, in fact, an admirably complete and fascinating study of one of the thorniest problems that ever set scholastic heads aching. How hard they must have ached is seen from the wide range of Mr. Noonan's material and his careful analysis of each intricate phase of the problem from the Church's seemingly absolute condemnation of "profit from a loan" in the twelfth century down to Pius XII's high praise of the banking system as such in the twentieth. On their arrival the scholastics found usury under the severest strictures of the Church both in the dogmatic and disciplinary fields. They were confronted at the same time with pressures demanding some system of lending for profit as a requisite of growing economic life. There ensued "three hundred years of debate" (1150-1450), which the author treats in Part I of his book. During this period the scholastics developed their "natural law case against usury" in support of the Church's dogmatic stand and on the basis of close, careful reasoning. But in deference to human needs involved in trade and commerce they also discerned various cases which, however nearly these might resemble usury itself, actually stood outside the ban.

Part II deals with the general revision of the usury theory and the final triumph of the triple contract in later scholastic thought. Cases exempted by the scholastics from the Church's condemnation are multiplied. Instances of reprobated usury tend to become the exception rather than, as formerly, the rule. In Part III we are shown the usury theory in modern times from three perspectives. The Calvinist "countertheory" has swept away the entire scholastic analysis with all its carefully elucidated principles. Calvin made the individual Christian conscience the sole guide to the morality of profit-making on loans. Sin lies only in excess. The official Catholic teaching, on the other hand, reaffirms the Church's original condemnation, but at the same time recognizes the justice of certain titles to profit other than merely that of lending. In practice the Church allows the taking of interest at reasonable rates fixed by the civil law. The third perspective is an evaluation of the theories of a number of modern Catholic historians. The author interdicts, e.g., Hilaire Belloc's appeal to the scholastics against international banking, and of others against the capitalist system.

Still, Mr. Noonan is professedly not writing a thesis. He sums up no general conclusions. He has succeeded in writing a cogent and richly documented history. But he is careful to point out—and does so convincingly—that the Church in her pronouncements, and the scholastics in the substance of their reasoning, were mastered by principle rather than

expediency. A striking example of this is the controversy over the triple contract, in which we see the German Jesuits torn between pastoral anxiety and passion for truth while Rome looks on mute with caution. The trend of the work, however, is far from abstract. The author treats with obvious competence of practically every concrete issue in the long development of the scholastic theory of usury. His work is an important contribution to the history of Christian economic theories.

THADDEUS MACVICAR

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Grosser Historischer Weltaltas. III. Teil: *Neuzeit.* Edited by Josef Engel, U. Noack, F. Wagner, and T. Schieder, with the collaboration of a large number of other scholars. (München: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. 1957. *Karten.* Pp. xvi, 109-200, and *Geographisches Such-register.* R1-R31. D. M. 12.80.)

The general scope and characteristic features of the *Grosser Historischer Weltaltas* were indicated in the review of Part I, *Vorgeschichte und Altertum,* in the REVIEW, XL (October, 1954), 312-314. Part III exhibits even more careful planning, wider scholarly collaboration, and even greater success in the construction of maps that contain a wealth of historical data without sacrifice of clarity. In addition to the editors mentioned in the title, sixty specialists contributed maps and data, and some fifty more served as consultants. There are over 100 large pages (9½x13½ inches) in this section of the atlas, containing about 250 separate maps. The history of non-European countries, including Africa and the Far East, is well represented. The numerous maps illustrating economic, social, cultural, and religious history have been prepared with extraordinary care and are one of the outstanding features of the new atlas. A full table of contents is followed by a "systematic" table of contents (pp. viii-xii) in which all the maps relating in any way to a given country are listed together under the name of that country. The directions for the use of the atlas are unusually full (pp. xiii-xvi) and help to bring out its rich content. As in Part I, the Geographical *Suchregister* or index is excellent. It would be impossible to describe the maps in detail, but some comment at least should be made on a few of the more significant ones.

A total of thirteen maps are devoted to the state of religion and religious changes in Europe 1500-1650 (114-117d). There are maps illustrating the foundation of modern European universities, the spread

of printing, architectural monuments of the Renaissance, and architectural monuments of the Baroque Age (120a-121b). Among the maps covering the nineteenth century may be mentioned that depicting the nationalities of the Hapsburg monarchy about 1900 (accompanying 157), that showing the development of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century (164), and those showing European population and its distribution about 1870 with the accompanying transparent maps indicating the situation in 1914 for purposes of comparison (165a-165c). Attention should be called, too, to the maps covering the Evangelical and Catholic Churches in Germany in the 1920's (177b and 177d), the elections in Germany, 1871-1953 (178a-179d), and the spread of Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam about 1950 (182-183b). Finally, there are good maps illustrating World War II in Europe (188a-189d), and an ususually valuable map indicating the movements or displacements of peoples in Europe in the period 1912-1952 (194-195b).

The following criticisms are offered. Some space might have been found for plans of cities important in modern history—as are found, e.g., in *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*. In some maps at least, important features of physical geography might well have been included. More serious are certain shortcomings in respect to the United States. In view of the increasing importance of this country in world history from the middle of the nineteenth century, much more space should have been given to its historical development. The maps and insets on pages 148-149 are much too small, the inset labelled "Plymouth-Kolonie 1620-1691" gives too much emphasis to Plymouth as compared with Massachusetts Bay Colony after 1629, and there is no map illustrating the American Civil War, one of the great wars of modern history. Furthermore, there are no maps covering the phenomenal agricultural and industrial development of the United States after 1865, except a very small inset on map 149 showing the building of transcontinental railroads, 1860-1910. Such shortcomings are not important for American users, who have good atlases for their own history, but it is unfortunate that non-Americans have not been given a better coverage of the history of the United States.

The companion volume of *Erläuterungen* is announced as being in preparation. It is to be hoped, too, that Part II, *Mittelalter,* which comprises pages 45-108 of the *Grosser Historischer Weltaltas,* will soon be published, and its *Erläuterungen* along with it. Part III, *Neuzeit,* must be regarded, all in all, as an excellent and indispensable reference work for advanced college students, for graduate students, and for teachers and professors of history.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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The Ashanti: A Proud People. By Robert A. Lystad. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1958. Pp. 212. $5.00.)

Professor Lystad of Tulane University provides here an interesting study of a major sector of the population of Ghana, the independent country in West Africa that is currently claiming so much attention. The Ashanti are a highly culture-conscious people numbering 850,000 who occupy an area half the size of New York State in the center of Ghana's territory with its total of four and a half millions. The Ashanti were on the march to political conquest when the British reached this part of Africa in the late nineteenth century. The struggle they made against the British is being repeated to a degree against the new rulers. "Sixty years of British domination," says Professor Lystad, "have not completely eradicated the sense of divine sanction and temporal authority which spurred the Confederacy to its successes and which has persisted, if tarnished, through its defeats" (p. 29).

The Ashanti possess an unusually complex society for what was until recently a non-literate people. The key to the constellation of concepts that traditionally made this society so strong is the Golden Stool, symbol of ancestral and divine authority which is located in Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. The British, misunderstanding the Golden Stool, sought to capture it and Ashanti hostility mounted. Captain Robert Rattray, first head of the British Anthropological Department in the colony, was able to demonstrate the Ashanti people's profound conviction, equivalent to a tenet of religion, that the soul of the Ashanti nation truly dwelt in the Golden Stool and that the British effort to capture the stool was regarded as a grave act of sacrilege. Lystad explains that in every well ordered household a row of gracefully-carved, smoke-blackened stools are the counterpart for the family of what the Golden Stool is for the nation. "For a home is not a home, a family is not a family, individuals are not individuals unless all have the perspective of themselves as merely the current mortal representatives of the ageless line of ancestors, those creators and guardians of the present" (p. 40). Lystad studies in detail a typical district center of the Ashanti country, Goaso. Family relations, matrilineal descent, and divorce receive consideration. Ironically, the importance of the mother cannot subdue the father: "The heroes of the Ashanti are many, the heroines few" (p. 64). Improved physical welfare is dwelt upon, changing political and economic factors influence profoundly the Ashanti ways. A strong money economy created by the success of the cocoa industry is breaking the hold of the chiefs (p. 113), creating the menace of absentee landlords (p. 102), and revealing some small inclination toward patrolineal society (p. 195) which would simplify the problem of land holding.

Lystad would seem to sum up his views on the religious situation on page 177. "One need no more question the honesty and sincerity of the priests of Bonsam or Nentiya than of any religious who speaks for the supernatural in any religion," comments the author. "Certainly the Ashanti pagan does not question the integrity of the Christian or Moslem practitioner. In his view Nyame, the creator, can and does reveal himself in many ways to many people; Jehovah and Allah are two such revelations. Bonsam and Nentiya are two others of a different sort. There is no need to be disturbed by this variety." Evidently Lystad has established his own special categories of Catholic Christians in his analysis of the local scene. "The Roman Catholic church," he explains, "established in Goaso in 1935, has four full members, 12 associate members and 43 junior members, although many other school children and adults regularly attend its ceremonies" (p. 180).

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Northern Seas. Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe A.D. 300-1100. By Archibald R. Lewis. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 498. $9.00.)

This book, a welcome addition to the author's *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100* (1951), is a pioneering effort. It seeks to link the developments of the northern European lands and to explore their contacts with the rest of the civilized world over a period of 800 years. By viewing "Northern Europe as a unit which surrounded the Northern Seas," Mr. Lewis hoped to find "new perspectives on certain aspects" of its history. He has in all fairness done so, and has produced a book that, if sometimes annoying, is seldom without interest and novelty, and that will be widely and profitably read.

Mr. Lewis' opinions, to be sure, are not all convincing. He believes, e.g., that the Germanic invasions were in some part the product of imperial restrictions on trade: "behind the *Volkwanderungen* lies the specter of a Roman economic policy that helped to provoke it" (p. 44). He would explain the shifts in power between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms along economic lines. Mercia's rise came as "a more advanced economy spread into the interior," while the rise of Wessex reflected a revival of trade with France (p. 137). And he would connect the Viking attacks on the West with a stoppage of Scandinavian trade to the Black and Caspian Seas around A.D. 840; according to this view, the trade with the East produced a surplus of silver (evidenced by the prevalence of eastern

coins in Scandinavian hoards prior to 840), while trade to the Carolingian lands drained silver away (evidenced by the lack of Carolingian coins in the same hoards). With the eastern route cut in 840 (evidenced by the absence of eastern coins after 840), the lack of silver produced a cessation of trade with the West (evidenced, rather surprisingly, by the same lack of Carolingian coins that had previously proved that there *was* a trade going on); and "the answer was to take by force what could no longer be gained by trade" (pp. 249-250). This theory has one advantage: it offers an explanation for the ability of the western lands to pay repeated danegelds—the silver never left the West, but merely paid for western goods that were shipped back to Scandinavia; the consequent stimulus to trade (a sort of forced foreign-aid program) was, Mr. Lewis feels, a constructive force.

The most important contribution of this volume arises precisely from the author's exploitation of available data on hoards of coins. Drawing conclusions from such material is a delicate matter, and Mr. Lewis' conclusions on this score do not always carry conviction, though they do so more often than not. In view of the truly desperate paucity of sources for this period, such extra aid is all to the good, and the information supplied by it is both valuable and impressive.

No one person could handle with complete confidence the literary sources for a work of such scope as this, spread so widely in terms of time, of geography, and of languages. Mr. Lewis has relied heavily upon existing secondary works. Where he has turned directly to the sources, the results are not uniformly good, e.g., he calls the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* "the fundamental source on events in Ireland" in the Viking period. But this saga of Brian Boru cannot have been composed before the late eleventh century. It has been subject to serious interpolations since that time, and it was extraordinarily polemical to begin with; it can have little value as a factual account of events in the ninth and tenth centuries. From it Mr. Lewis draws (indirectly) a hoary tale of a Viking chieftain who made himself Abbot of Armagh (p. 251) and (directly) a circumstantial but highly mythical account of a time when each Irish village had a Norse overlord who collected an ounce of silver from each household (pp. 336-337)—cited as evidence for the "development of a money economy" in Ireland in the tenth century.

The annoyances of the volume are largely editorial in nature. There is an excessive number of misprints or errors in proper names and in footnote citations: p. 4: Teutoni for Teutones; p. 16, line 13: Visigothic for Ostrogothic; p. 134: Provenence for Provence; p. 198: hospes for hospites; p. 218, n. 177: Ireland for Iceland; p. 268, n. 63: Toad for Todd; p. 293, n. 191: Louis for Charles; p. 307, n. 269: Curry for O'Donovan;

p. 421, Ouse for Oise, and many others. Readers will be more surprised than confused to read Mansi, *Collectae Consilium* (p. 445, n. 246); but they might easily be confused by the citation (p. 330 and again p. 336) of T. Walsh, *Norsemen in Ireland*—a moderately effective disguise for A. Walsh, *Scandinavian Relations with Ireland*. And on pages 306, 336, 391, and 399 there are four citations of a single article by J. Ryan; in the four citations are two different titles, two different names of the periodical, and three different volume numbers. Many of these errors would have been prevented by the inclusion of a bibliography of works cited, the lack of which is a serious defect. There is also much repetition in the text, some of which could have been easily avoided by the use of cross-referencing, which is never employed; e.g., on pages 175 and 181 the duplication even extends to two footnotes repeated almost *verbatim* save for three typographical errors and the citation of one book in two different editions.

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The Estates of Ramsey Abbey. A Study in Economic Growth and Organization. [Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Studies and Texts, 3.] By J. Ambrose Raftis. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 1957. Pp. xvii, 341.)

The records of the East Anglican Abbey of Ramsey have long been an important source for students of English agrarian history. Professor Postan of the University of Cambridge, who has himself often used the same records, directed Father Raftis' work and has written the preface. Father Raftis tells the story of the five and a half centuries of agrarian history of Ramsey Abbey from its foundation by St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, and the East Anglian Ealdorman Aethelwin in the latter half of the tenth century to its dissolution in the beginning of the sixteenth in ten chapters. After the first chapter, which is devoted to the Anglo-Saxon period of the abbey, the author explains the impact of the feudal Norman conquest which ushered in inevitable changes in the structure of the abbey land holdings and in their administration and exploitation. The twelfth century was a period of growth and change—alienations and shifts in tenure, technological improvements in crop rotation, fen drainage and deforestation, rent changes, increases in productivity, price rises, etc. Administrative developments and their mutual influence on monastic as well as economic life in general are an integral part of the book. Students of monastic history will find the study valuable for the light it casts on the functioning of the obedentiary system in the late

twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The rising productivity of English land and relative agrarian prosperity up to the middle of the thirteenth century were bound to influence the Ramsey manors as also the decline that set in in all England after that period. The few short periods of prosperity in the fourteenth century had no lasting effect on the economic well being of the abbey. The impact of the Black Death gets a chapter of its own, as does the fifteenth-century depression. Three chapters, accompanied by a host of tables, present and analyze the statistics of the holdings and yields of the manors in livestock, grain, and garden produce together with data about villein labor dues and pay in wages and in kind.

This reviewer cannot help but agree with Professor Postan that Father Raftis has produced a study which "is economic in the rare and exacting sense of the word" (p. ix). It should be welcomed by students of mediaeval history who come to it equipped with the vocabulary of mediaeval legal and economic terminology. The text is fortified by seventy-two tables, eighteen appendices, two maps and a list of Ramsey abbots.

VICTOR GELLHAUS

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Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. By Hugo Buchthal. With Liturgical and Paleographical Chapters by Francis Wormald. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxiv, 153; 155 Plates. $26.90.)

The work accomplished in two *scriptoria* in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is the subject of this excellent and much needed book. The *scriptorium* in Jerusalem produced *Queen Melisenda's Psalter,* the *Sacramentary,* the *Missal of the Holy Sepulchre,* the *Gospel of St. John,* two other Gospel manuscripts, a *Missal,* the *Riccardian Psalter,* the *Egerton Sacramentary* and a *Pontifical.* The *scriptorium* at Acre produced three missals, a Bible, the *Histoire Universelle,* and the *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea.*

The second quarter of the twelfth century witnessed the existence of a well organized *scriptorium* situated in Jerusalem, the heart of the crusading kingdom. The principal item from this period is the *deluxe* psalter of Queen Melisenda (Plates 1-19). The prayers entered therein are those designed for a woman who in this case could very well have been Melisenda's sister, Yvelle, Abbess of St. Lazarus in Bethany, but the more probable verdict is that the prayers were written for a pious laywomen—the queen herself. It can be dated between 1131-1143. The manuscript is illustrated and is the work of several illuminators, some of

whom were definitely Byzantine in training. The illuminations give indications of a local style, composed of Byzantine and Latin elements, yet distinct in itself, coming into being. This promise is fulfilled in the *Sacramentary* and in the *Missal* of the Holy Sepulchre (Plates 20-32), both written for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before the middle of the twelfth century. Both are richly illuminated, showing Italian and English influence, the latter drawn from the Canterbury School. This is strange inasmuch as the Kingdom of Jerusalem was *la France d'outremer* and thus one would expect that its scribes and illuminators would come from religious houses in France. Yet the main influence seems to be derived from Rome, Monte Cassino, and Canterbury. This may be explained by the fact that the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre did not maintain close relations with other western Benedictine houses. The English influence can be accounted for by the priorship of the Englishman, William, who was Prior of the Holy Sepulchre before being consecrated the first Archbishop of Tyre in 1127. He died in 1132 or 1133. He was probably the founder of the Holy Sepulchre *scriptorium*, and had much to do with the maturity of the local style as portrayed in the *Sacramentary* and in the *Missal*.

Three other illuminated manuscripts remain from the twelfth-century kingdom, but they are of strongly Byzantine influence. They are: (a) the Gospel of St. John; (b) the four Gospels, complete with prologue, canon tables and lists of Sunday and weekday lessons throughout the year; (c) a missal which is incomplete at the beginning and end. It is an inferior work when compared with Queen Melisenda's psalter and the products of the Holy Sepulchre *scriptorium*. (Plates 33, 34-48, 49-51.) Thus, there are six manuscripts dating prior to the fall of the kingdom in 1187. The miniature painting of the period seems to have been exclusively a court art inasmuch as all six manuscripts seem to have been written for and been originally the property of the royal family. Richly illuminated *de luxe* volumes were common in the West especially for royalty, but the practice had fallen into desuetude by the twelfth century. Thus, in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the process is best explained by regarding it as a conscious imitation of Byzantine practice and more especially of Byzantine imperial art.

The thirteenth century witnessed the production of the *Riccardiana Psalter* at Jerusalem, and judging by the form—illuminations of the life of Christ throughout the manuscript without regard to the text in the psalter, a practice followed in Germany—the manuscript was probably commissioned by Emperor Frederick II for the use of his empress who was sister to Henry III of England. (Plates 52-54.) Two other manuscripts, a *Pontifical* and a *Sacramentary* date from the same period. (Plates 55-56.)

Meanwhile, in the dwindled Latin kingdom manuscript illumination was being carried on at St. Jean d'Acre, the new capital. To this city's *scriptorium* belongs: (a) the Missal in Perugia (Plates 57a, 58, 59a) whose illustrator, judging by the forms, was a Venetian; (b) the Egerton Missal (Plate 57b) which closely resembles the Missal in Perugia; and (c) the manuscript in Padua (Plates 59b-61) containing the psalter, the books of Daniel, the minor prophets, and the Maccabees. It, too, shows Byzantine workmanship as does the Arsenal Bible (Plates 62-81). Based exclusively on the evidence of style another thirteenth-century manuscript has been attributed to the *scriptorium* of St. Jean d'Acre. This is the *Histoire Universelle* (Plates 82-129). A great number of French and Italian versions, some illuminated, were written in France and Italy from the second half of the thirteenth century onward. It is the earliest compilation in the vernacular of a very popular mediaeval exercise in historical writing, the world chronicle. The *Histoire Universelle,* among others, glorified the Trojan origins of the Franks! It was intended for a lay public and was probably read or recited to an audience. Paul Meyer has dated it, for historical reasons, between 1223-1230, but the earliest extant manuscript belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century.

The last group of manuscripts considered concerns *The History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who was the eminent historian of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. (Plates 130-136.) It is the most reliable document emanating from the entire crusading venture, and although written in Latin it was soon translated into French. William died in 1185 and thus did not see the debacle of 1187 which he had forecast. However, the story is continued in the French versions and deals with events, some concerning Frederick II and St. Louis. No illuminated manuscript of the Latin version has remained and probably it was never illustrated. The vast majority of the French versions contain narrative miniatures.

The work of Professors Buchthal and Wormald is of such importance that it is impossible to do it justice in a review. In the first place, it is the product of many years of study and research now put into book form. Secondly, it fills a gap in our knowledge of the Latin crusading kingdom. While architecture and sculpture have been given their due amount of attention, miniature painting had been left unnoticed. Mr. Buchthal's book offers a complete survey of a new field and Professor Wormald's appendices on "Liturgical Notes" are highly informative and useful. Both the authors and the Oxford University Press are to be congratulated.

JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN

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The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century. By Steven Runciman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. xiv, 355. $5.50.)

A little over a century ago Amari published an account of the celebrated Sicilian rising against the French in 1282. Although a great historian, Amari was also a patriot writing with specific reference to the nineteenth-century movement of liberation. Important research has been done since. But except as the title of one of Verdi's operas the Sicilian Vespers have been largely forgotten by all but professional historians. Often overlooked, too, has been the career of Charles of Anjou, the man whose ambitious designs were frustrated by the revolt. Steven (now Sir Steven) Runciman has accordingly performed a service in presenting the historic setting of a dramatic and significant incident and in calling attention to the European role of Charles of Anjou. He feels that "the massacre was one of those events in history which altered the fate of nations and of world-wide institutions."

To present adequately the setting for the Angevin defeat in Sicily the author has written what amounts to a political and diplomatic history of the Mediterranean world. Because the designs of Charles of Anjou were so far-reaching, the histories of the mediaeval empire, Spain, France, Byzantium, Jerusalem, Italy, and north Africa all converge. Even England was for a time involved. As a consequence an extraordinary cavalcade of persons, events, and policies is here reviewed. Inevitably the story becomes involved; and one wonders whether so detailed a coverage does not sometimes obscure rather than clarify the main issue. Somehow the tremendous significance of Sicily to mediaeval Europe gets lost in the details of the narrative. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that thirteenth-century diplomacy was far from simple. Moreover, Runciman himself candidly acknowledges the difficulty in suggesting that "readers who are afraid of crowds should keep to the better-ordered lanes of fiction."

In that part of the book devoted to the actual conspiracy and to the diplomatic and military developments immediately following detailed treatment is manifestly necessary. Runciman has generally followed modern research, and while rejecting the cloak and dagger details of the legend of John of Procida, he finds a kernel of truth in what the legend may symbolize: an actual conspiracy in which John played a significant part, and the seeds of a genuine Sicilian nationalism. Perhaps, more should have been said of the part played by the different groups in Sicilian society; and some comment would have been welcome on the possible connection between the Vespers and other popular revolts which were shortly to become so prevalent in western Europe.

In estimating the significance of the freeing of Sicily from the Angevins, Runciman again turns to the general European scene for, as was remarked above, it is a thesis of this book that the Vespers constituted a turning point in the history of Europe. The most important immediate consequence was the frustration of Charles' plan for attacking the Byzantine Empire. But it was also, the author contends, "the ruin of the Hildebrandine Papacy." And, of course, it was a significant step in the rise of Aragon as a Mediterranean power. One may not agree with all of Runciman's judgments, particularly one or two rather sweeping statements regarding the popes. Granted that papal diplomacy of this period was disastrous, it must be remembered that judgments based on the political successes and failures of the popes are necessarily incomplete. But within the framework of diplomatic history which the author has chosen his estimate of the impact of the Vespers is fundamentally sound and needs emphasis.

Runciman has relied on the most recent literature, ranged widely in original sources, and visited many of the sites mentioned. The bibliography is extensive. For the role of Benedetto (not Benito) Zaccaria, R. Lopez, *Genova Marinara nel Duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria* (Messina-Milano, 1932), should be added: and J. Strayer, "'The Crusade against Aragon," *Speculum,* XXVIII (1953), 102-113. I know of no reason for including Narbonne among the Aragonese possessions (p. 235). The volume is printed with attractive format and includes four plates, three maps, and six genealogical tables.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

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Pisa in the Early Renaissance. A Study of Urban Growth. By David Herlihy. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 68.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 229. $4.50.)

Historians who have assumed that the Genoese victory at Meloria in 1284 was the result of a century of decline for Pisa should read this book. Meloria occurred in "a change-packed half-century", when there was "a vigorous economic upsurge," to use Professor Herlihy's words, in Pisa as well as in other Italian cities. This was the third period of acceleration since the late tenth century. It included a growth of population, the rise of the *popolo,* establishment of economic controls, improvement in transportation, opening of new trade areas, rise of new families, changes in agriculture and industries. To illustrate these large topics, many interesting examples are given, such as the girth of the new city wall for Pisa and the newcomers in the parish of San Cristofano; the building of a third bridge across the Arno and of a second road to the north; the discarding of leather hats, which were replaced by woolen

ones; the differences between the earlier cold-water process in the leather industry and the later hot-water process.

The value of Mr. Herlihy's study is increased by its not being a limited picture of only the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There are statements about the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There are comparisons with other Tuscan cities and with Genoa. From being Tuscany's largest town in the twelfth century, Pisa was surpassed by Florence in the next hundred years. War, unhygienic conditions because of annual floods and swamps lands, and interests divided between seafaring and industries were the causes for Pisa's being first outstripped in population and industries, then finally conquered by Florence.

In addition to the factual information, this book is a contribution because of the sources used. Every graduate student in European history would profit by studying it. He would learn a great deal about an important source for economic and social history from Chapter I, "The Notarial Chartulary." The explanatory footnotes, the five appendixes, and "Note on the Sources" supplement this chapter. Even if a graduate student is more interested in the modern period or in political history, he could see how an effective historical account may be made.

MARY LUCILLE SHAY

University of Illinois

Machiavelli & the Renaissance. By Federico Chabod. With an Introduction by A. P. d'Entrèves. (London: Bowes & Bowes. 1958. Pp. xviii, 258. 30 s.)

Two of the three essays on Machiavelli here translated for the first time into English were originally published in the middle 1920's. They are both devoted to *The Prince* and constitute the largest part of the present collection. They were the product of a climate of opinion which the events of the past thirty-odd years have changed in many respects and they represent a tradition peculiar to Italian scholarship. The passionate emotions of the *Risorgimento* still echo through Chabod's pages, and there is a willingness to accept Machiavelli's identification of the state with its "personal head" which reflects the prevailing opinion in Italy at the time when these essays were written. Many readers will find unacceptable Chabod's manifest approval of what he regarded as the most significant product of Machiavelli's creative genius: "his great assertion as a thinker, representing his true and essential contribution to the history of human thought, namely, the clear recognition of the autonomy and necessity of politics, 'which lies outside the realm of what is morally good or bad'" (p. 116). The last phrase is a quotation from Croce, whose influence, together with that of Francesco de Sanctis, is clearly discernible

throughout the essays. At the same time, in a penetrating analysis of Italian political life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Chabod demonstrates the fact that it was through the practice of just such methods as were outlined in *The Prince* that Italy was reduced to ruin and to that servitude to the foreigner which Machiavelli—and Chabod—so greatly deplored. For all his admiration for the Florentine secretary, Chabod is not blind to his intellectual limitations nor to the errors in his assessment of the lessons of history, and there is a moral judgment implied in his melancholy characterization of *The Prince* as "at once a synthesis and a condemnation of two centuries of Italian history" (p. 105).

The book concludes with a thoughtful essay on "The Concept of the Renaissance," first published in 1942 and, unfortunately, unavailable at that time to American scholars, and a critical bibliography—some forty-seven pages long—which would alone be worth the price of the book. I know of no fuller, more up to date, or more rationally organized bibliography of recent books and articles on the Italian Renaissance.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

University of Western Ontario

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Praise of Wisdom. By Edward L. Surtz, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 402. $4.00.)

The Praise of Pleasure. Edward L. Surtz, S.J. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 246. $4.75.)

The personality of St. Thomas More has captured the imagination of modern biographers. Recent research indicates that More, second to St. Francis of Assisi, has been the most popular subject for hagiographers and historians. Equally appealing to writers have been More's ideas contained in his Latin and English works. As a "complete Renaissance humanist" his opinions reflect the best thinking of his era, or so critics reason.

The *Utopia* of More is not only the most frequently discussed work among his writings, but it has been a focal point of critical analysis for over four conturies. It is a literary landmark of a transitional age between mediaeval and modern times. Written during the Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512-1517) when the Church was seriously occupied with reform, appearing on the eve of Martin Luther's break from Christian unity, filled with allusions and comments on historical and economic phenomena of an emerging new world, the *Utopia* has been considered as the ideal mirror of that age and its aspirations.

Father Surtz's two volumes represent a detailed study of the dominant ideas in the *Utopia* within the framework of the early sixteenth century's radical changes. Although both books appeared in the same year, internal criteria indicate a priority in composition on the part of *The Praise of Wisdom*. This work examines the treatment of morality and religion by More in the *Utopia*. *The Praise of Pleasure* continues a detailed scrutiny into More's opinions on philosophy, education, and communism. Both works are exegetical in method and represent a wealth of research into contemporary European thought. Father Surtz's purpose appears to be a definitive appraisal of More's personal belief underlying the sometimes playful, sometimes serious, expression of ideas in the *Utopia*. His judgment steers a straight middle course between the viewpoints of the two camps of extremists—those who regard the *Utopia* as a mere literary sally by a humanist without seriousness of purpose, and those who take it too seriously as an absolute document calling for reform.

In *The Praise of Wisdom* the topics studied include More's expression of opinion on death, suicide, euthanasia, preparation for marriage, divorce, adultery, religious observances, the ascetical life, and finally, God's nature. These are the perennial problems in every man's mind, and even the fictional utopians can be expected to have their viewpoints. Occasionally, as Father Surtz points out, the conclusions reached by the utopians may shock Christians, but that is because our minds are adorned by grace and illumined by revelation, gifts not possessed by these creatures ruled only by reason. Over and over, the author reminds his audience that these opinions are not More's own, but the expressions of natural judgments reached by people who know not Christ and His words. In similar fashion *The Praise of Pleasure* represents logical ideas on man's use of his reasoning powers, the pre-eminence of the intellectual over the corporeal, and the limited virtues of a communistic state, as envisioned by More in a society wherein so-called Christian princes, ignoring the guidance of revealed truth, were substituting personal ambition for the care of the common good of the citizenry.

Father Surtz does not differ from the older judgment of R. W. Chambers on St. Thomas More's intent in writing his classical picture of an ideal commonwealth. He does place particular emphasis on the influence of Erasmus on the saint, an opinion that is gaining greater credence as Tudor studies multiply. This influence was far greater than hitherto assumed. A nice blend of the narrative and the exegetical makes both books readable and useful for reference. The continuation of such precise study on topics still untreated in the *Utopia* is inferred in *The Praise of Pleasure*. These volumes are an excellent addition to the expanding library on More.

THOMAS W. CUNNINGHAM

Seton Hall University

Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored. By Clara Longworth de Chambrun. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1957. Pp. ix, 406. $7.50.)

The author's career of a lifetime dedicated to Shakespearian studies and research makes this posthumous publication of her translation of *Shakespeare Retrouvé* (Paris, 1947) an especially noteworthy event for Shakespeare lovers throughout the English-speaking world. Upon a framework fundamentally chronological the author constructs a scholarly, even if somewhat provocative, monument. "Shakespeare's work, like that of any author whose writings glow with feeling and emotion, cannot be fully understood apart from the public events of his day" (p. 1). To that extent this volume is as much a solid work in history as it is a sound contribution to biographical study and literary criticism.

Replete with documentation as this book is, it nonetheless abounds with conjecture and hypothesis. The author evidences a partiality for the "We may well suppose" approach, e.g., "There are grounds for believing . . ." (p. 95); "It is logical to suppose . . ." (p. 212); "It is logical to seek . . ." (p. 268). Invariably, however, the suppositions are challenging. If positive historical evidence is lacking, at least there is no specific contradictory evidence. Vistas of Shakespearian speculation are opened that will send the casual reader and the serious scholar back to the text of the Bard to ponder a "wondrous strange" interpretation. The ingenious autobiography of Shakespeare presented in the chapter on the sonnets, with myriad allusions to the Earl of Southampton and the "Dark Lady," is stimulating even when it is not always orthodox.

The wealth of detail incorporated into this single volume is truly impressive. From her native Cincinnati, Ohio, "with the sense I was born with," the Countess de Chambrun brought to Paris a rare talent for finding the unusual in Shakespeare lore. Her brother Nicholas had been speaker of the House of Representatives; she married a general in the French Army and spent the greater portion of her life in Paris. From there she travelled to the Bodleian in Oxford, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Folger Library in Washington, and to many a storied place like the fateful dwelling of the Thane of Glamis "reached after a spirit-haunted drive through the forest of Birnam, overlooked by Dunsinane." Details of these travels may be found in the author's own autobiography, *Shadows Lengthen.* Her French translations of Shakespeare reached the leading theatres of France.

In the chapter on Hamlet, the Countess de Chambrun writes that under Shakespeare's pen Hamlet is christianized and humanized. That is, in a sense, the theme of this volume: Shakespeare, the Christian humanist. On page two the reader is reminded that in November, 1558, only six brief years before the birth of Shakespeare, the death of Mary Tudor

was followed that very same evening by that of her cousin, Reginald Pole, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. Their short-lived, ill-fated efforts to stabilize the Catholic restoration in England were to be lost in the intrigue of the privy council and the scheming advisers of Elizabeth I. The new government represented only a small percentage of the population which it ruled with a rod of iron. The repressive measures enacted against the ancient Catholic faith were to mark the world into which Shakespeare was born. Several of Shakespeare's tutors at the Stratford grammar school were forced to flee because of their suspected adherence to the Catholic faith. The brother of one, John Cottam, was martyred with Edmund Campion at Tyburn. The influence of Robert Southwell's religious poetry is perceptible in many of Shakespeare's sonnets. Frequently Shakespeare was suspect for his sympathy with the literature of the Jesuit College of Douai. This aspect of his life, together with the boldness with which he gained inspiration from distinguished Renaissance humanists like Giovanni Florio, is brilliantly developed in this volume.

Any student of literature should read this volume for its detailed historic panorama of the sixteenth century; the young history student and the history research scholar will both find much in it to aid the understanding of the tragic and absorbing complexities of the dramatic Shakespeare-Elizabethan era.

JOSEPH G. DWYER

Iona College

The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge. By William T. Costello, S.J. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 221. $4.50.)

Father Costello, associate professor of English in Gonzaga University, has written a delightful little book (150 pages of text, including a five-page summary and conclusion) about a subject which almost makes one shudder to think how dry it might have been. As a study it is adequate to its title, and the narrative, though liberally interlarded with Latin, has a lightness of touch and grace of style that betrays, in its concise exactitude and flow, the real pleasure with which both research and writing were pursued. Moreover, the eighteen-page bibliography, thirty-three pages of notes, and a nineteen-page index are quite exemplary.

From a close study of "students' notebooks, commonplace books, tutors' directions, thesis broadsides, and commencement verse"—and "the seventeenth-century student's wastebasket"—he has reconstructed, in detail, the "scholastic curriculum" at Cambridge and shows that it was both

"orthodox and Protestant." Not least of the merits of this book is that it is built around a remarkably clear summation of scholasticism that might well be helpful to some who consider themselves experts therein! Furthermore, Father Costello's study of the actual content of the undergraduate "arts and sciences," and graduate studies (theology, medicine, law, and music), is directed toward showing why "Spenser, Bacon, Fuller, Milton . . . thought and wrote as they did." Most readers will find his extended, and entertaining, explication of the academic function of "the disputation" something of a revelation; perhaps, his most telling characterization lies in contrasting its "ritual" with that of a bull fight.

This reviewer has but one criticism—a personal reaction. The humor injected into the narrative sometimes seems a little forced—like the "unction" associated (in the "movies") with English village curates. But that is a small matter, indeed. Father Costello has done scholarship—and above all Catholic scholarship—a real service. May his study of the decay of "the scholastic curriculum" be soon forthcoming, for he has shown here that it was an integral part of a very real "world," and, far from merely showing in painstaking detail how far it was (and is) from the "true faith," he has contributed to our understanding of "the Protestant mind" in its seventeenth-century English setting.

ELDON M. TALLEY

College of New Rochelle

Puritans, Lawyers, and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England. By John Dykstra Eusden. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 238. $4.50.)

The Addled Parliament of 1614. By Thomas L. Moir. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 212. $4.80.)

These books, models of the historian's judgment as well as of the printer's art, deal with the broad and pervasive constitutional struggle between the crown and Parliament during the reigns of the first two Stuarts. Professor Eusden sweeps through the first thirty years of the seventeenth century with an enviable familiarity and a penetrating insight into the attitudes and motives of characteristic Puritans and common law barristers who represented substantial opposition to the divine right policies of James I and Charles I in the Commons, in the pulpits, and in the courts. Dr. Moir, on the other hand, studies the intricate details of James' least successful and least well-known Parliament of 1614. The latter was summoned to replenish the royal treasury, but it ended in abject failure for both parties. It was a particularly stormy session during

which the king's naive request for a "parliament of love" was met with demands for redress of grievances over "undertakers," impositions, and papists.

Dr. Eusden, in succinct language, traces the ideological parallels between the Puritans and the common law lawyers which grew out of their ecclesiastical and legal pursuits and which were carried into politics in an alliance against the crown. The author concludes that the Puritans did not influence the lawyers' beliefs, and vice versa, but that they shared fundamental axioms. Similar attitudes toward their common problems made possible an unusual position of strength against a common enemy. The barristers and Puritans were legalists who preached fundamentalism in divine or in human sovereignty, and who understood law or theology through a narrow constructionist interpretation. Moreover, both groups demanded institutional independence and denied speculative thought. They were prone to exaggeration and generally intolerant of their religious, legal, and political opponents. Therefore, this study is an introspective analysis of the two rising, and perhaps most restless, groups in England. Dr. Eusden fixes their mutual tenets by examining their activities in Parliament, in the universities, in the Inns of Court, and in the common law courts.

No attempt is made to rewrite the history of the period or to alter traditional theses, but basic issues are clearly defined. The Puritans' communal feeling with continental Protestantism—a point we usually associate more easily with Elizabethan or Cromwellian times—and the difficulty over distinguishing Puritanism from Anglicanism are mentioned. Dr. Eusden rightly points out the complexity of natural law and the interpretations of it in the seventeenth century. A later chapter on "Sovereignty and the Stuff of Political History" is especially fascinating, and the test cases involving the royal prerogative are admirably surveyed. But the comments on Puritan-common law influence on later parliamentary history are too thin. And I am not convinced that the Puritans and lawyers were only secondarily concerned with political activity, as Dr. Eusden suggests, in the light of their strong opposition to Stuart absolutism. Certainly, the occasional redundancy over the doctrine of divine sovereignty, and the idea of institutional independence may be regarded as good academic technique. Professor Eusden's study is a monument to work in English history written entirely from sources in American repositories.

Dr. Moir traces the Addled Parliament from the decision to summon it up to its dissolution. He describes fully the elections, the composition of the Lords and Commons, and the rising opposition of the lower house to royal policy and to special interest groups such as the Spanish faction. Several fresh interpretations are advanced. Professor Moir studies the

circumstances surrounding the elections to the Parliament of 1614 in several counties throughout England, and proves the consuming influence of prominent local families who pushed through favorite candidates. Many of these elections, especially in the north country, went against the crown in spite of its attempts to insure a sympathetic house. Although four privy councillors and six other high crown officials sat in the Commons, they were unable to quell the stormy debates of M.P.'s who suspected, but could not prove, that James had tried to pack the lower house in order to manipulate it in his interest. Commons' debates, therefore, centered about grievances over "undertaking" and not over the issue of subsidies. Stuart ineptitude in directing Parliament and the waning power of the Lords become clear in the course of the narrative. But I am most impressed by Dr. Moir's denial of substantial Puritan influence in the Commons, a thesis which contradicts traditional understanding.

Some minor points may warrant further explanation. Royal marriage was sometimes employed "in terms of its cash value," but the Spanish match was not considered primarily to relieve James' financial predicament. A word or two relating Parliament's fear of Catholicism with attempts by the Howard family (a few of whom were recusants) to forestall a session might have helped to explain more easily the intrigues of the Spanish faction at court. And "The Constitutional Crisis," Chapter I, deserves more complete attention than the author has given to it. But these criticisms do not seriously impair the value of Professor Moir's study which has illuminated a heretofore unexplored chapter of the seventeenth century. The student should not fail to examine the complete lists of membership in the appendices; they are not easily found elsewhere.

MARTIN J. HAVRAN

Kent State University

Madame Elisabeth, 1764-1794. By Maurice de la Fuye and Emile Albert Babeau. (Paris: P. Lethellier. 1957. Pp. 288. 450 frs.)

The opening chapters of this sensitive biography trace the life of Madame Elisabeth, Louis XVI's younger sister, from her childhood, through her education, to maturity on her own estate, Montreuil—where in 1789 the "deluge" found her. The remaining chapters detail the last five years of her life, as determined by the Revolution in France. Throughout, the interaction between Madame Elisabeth's political position and her spiritual life is noted, as these two streams parallel each other.

More intelligent than Louis, Madame Elisabeth grasped the serious implications of Louis' inability to act. Believing with Artois in absolute

monarchy, she yet worked with moderates, such as Lafayette, who appreciated her strength of character. Uninformed on Varennes till the day before, she submitted loyally to Louis' decision, or rather indecision—in any case to his authority—when he refused another chance at evasion on their return trip. Hopefully, she wanted to see the end of "this revolution"; realistically she had said *adieu* to Montreuil. Already "la Sainte des Tuileries," she grew in discipline and resignation, and taught Madame Royale to do likewise, in the humiliating conditions of the Temple. Her trial and execution form the climax: the *Conciergerie* where she innocently still hoped to find Marie Antoinette—the Revolutionary Tribunal—the ride through Paris to the guillotine, bareheaded, beautiful, completely poised. The last to die because of her rank, no roll of drums or cries of "Vive la Republique" followed her execution, only silence.

The story is dramatic (did Robespierre try to save her from Collot d'Herbois?), the authors competent (M. de la Fuye's *Louis XVI* was crowned by the French Academy), the illustrative material abundant, occasionally petty, usually absorbing as are Madame Elisabeth's letters to her friends, "Bombe" (Marquise de Bombelles) and "Rage" (Marquise de Raignecourt). The critical evaluation of Madame Elisabeth's correspondence, where the authors indicate the "retouchings" and the forgeries, will please the scholar. Unfortunately, the book has no index and only a limited bibliography, though the reader is referred to the extensive one in the biography by Soeur M. de Lys. Finally the stress on Madame Elisabeth's personal holiness is, to the present reviewer, excessive. Certainly she was a holy woman; resigned and unembittered in her "painful Calvary" as her exquisite prayers indicate; but the theme is so handled here as to create the impression that the primary purpose of the book is to advance the cause of her beatification, to which both the opening *avertissement* and the adulatory conclusion refer. This is in itself a legitimate end, but it lies in the realm of apologetics rather than that of objective history.

History or apologetics, the reader, seeing the Revolution from inside the royal prison, sees also the tragedy of revolutionary justice, not, alas, unknown in the twentieth century.

FRANCES S. CHILDS

Brooklyn College

The French Nation: From Napoleon to Petain. By D. W. Brogan. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1958. Pp. 328. $3.50.)

D. W. Brogan has turned his facile pen to its usual fluent expression. In just over 300 pages he has attempted to periscope some 125 years of French history. This is no mean task. Just how well he does it depends

upon the reader's knowledge of the history of France since the era of Napoleon. For those who are well versed they will find his approach refreshing. There is nothing new in what he has to say. He does succeed in interpreting events from the vantage point of 1957; he has stepped back, turned his scholarly eye on a vast amount of history, and come up with a clear picture of what has made France.

The nineteenth century witnessed a slowly but surely losing struggle on the part of the upholders of the old regime. The bourgeois supporters and the newly awakened democratic forces were just too much for them. The royalists made some costly mistakes; the rightist groups came to grief particularly as a result of their unfortunate choice of sides during the Dreyfus affair. Severe anti-clerical legislation made it graphically clear that the republican element was determined to cripple its opponents. It would be a mistake to say that France was strengthened as a result of this struggle. The internal divisions that were so evident at the turn of the century did much to enervate contemporary France. The scars are still there. The great distrust of the Right by the republican forces explains much of the failure of France in the twentieth century. Failure to tap all the sources of life within the nation has served to reduce it to a less than a first rate power. The reader could hardly fail to see this in Brogan's interpretative study. France fell in 1940 not only because of a disastrous military defeat, but also because it was divided within. No house can stand divided against itself. As the author puts it, "the sins of the nation . . . were to be terribly expiated" (p. 302). The "suicide" of the republic was inevitable.

This type of study obviates the use of footnotes. It is a critical survey of France from 1814 to 1940 and as such, it must be considered. Anyone looking for a detailed account of these years will find disappointment. Brogan's work is not for the beginner. A knowledge of French history is essential to understand many statements that the author makes, and a knowledgeable reader will find this a stimulating study.

DONALD R. PENN

Georgetown University

A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna. By René Albrecht-Carrié. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1958. Pp. xvi, 736.)

To attempt to include in one volume the diplomatic history of Europe since 1815 is an ambitious task. Dr. Albrecht-Carrié has ably succeeded in doing this in the present work. After defining diplomacy as, ". . . the management of the relations among sovereign entities through negotiations conducted by the appropriate agents" (p. 3), he divides his work

into three natural parts, *viz.*, the period from 1815 to 1870, from 1871 to 1914, and from Versailles to the present. Despite his remark that diplomatic history has been "relatively neglected" until the very recent present, there is nothing startling about the first period. He is careful to point out that economics which had little or no status at Vienna was destined to become more important in the future. After 1870 there is an altered relationship of power, and that power is found not only in wealth and armament but also in growth of population, industry, and the pressure of increased literacy on the decisions of statesmen. For Albrecht-Carrié, the period from 1870 to 1914 represents "the apogee of Europe." There is a certain stability in Europe until the fall of Bismarck, a period of fumbling until the crystallization of the Anglo-French-Russian alliances, and the hardening of Europe into two armed camps after 1907. ". . . Germany continues to remain at the center of the relations of Europe. . . . increasingly the object of hostile reaction from others" (p. 206).

Relying considerably on the works of A. J. P. Taylor and Albertini the author seems ready to question the definitive revisionist treatment of the causes of World War I by Sidney Fay, ". . . . the influence of whom on the American outlook can hardly be exaggerated" (p. 161). However, he warily threads his way through the tortuous diplomacy of the war and the Versailles settlement. Impartially and with an equal hand he apportions praise and blame to the victors and vanquished; yet, he might have mentioned that the Japanese were bolstered by the secret treaties. The introduction of morality into diplomacy is largely the heritage of Wilson, and reparations represent a strange mixture of power, morality, and economics.

To enumerate and comment on the welter of diplomatic events from 1919 to 1939 requires economy of movement and shrewd understanding. Dr. Albrecht-Carrié has both. In the main he allows the circumstances, events, and coalitions to speak for themselves, for here the black is blacker, and the white whiter. However, this reviewer would wish that he had shown a more sympathetic appreciation of the Herculean tasks of Dr. Bruening. After having spent so much space on revisionism after World War I, one wonders why he relegates the same question to a single footnote after World War II. Aside from this point, Albrecht-Carrié's treatment of the period is masterly and he wisely refrains from dogmatic comment on matters which are still *sub judice*. The year 1947 marks for him the great change in post-war diplomacy when the United States with its Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan really accepts its role and responsibility in world affairs This is the position in which we find ourselves today and one who ". . . . harbor[s] considerable of the value of the so-called lessons of the historic past. . . ." (p. xiv) admirably refrains

from donning the mantle of the prophet. The divisions of the book are clear and natural, the printing is excellent, and there are a good index, maps, and an adequate bibliography on all phases of the matter treated.

EDWARD J. DUNNE

St. Peter's College

English Historical Documents, Volume XII, Part I, *1833-1874.* Edited by G. M. Young and W. D. Handcock. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 1017. $15.20.)

In this volume the editors follow the plan of the previous volumes in the series in presenting excerpts from contemporary sources, parliamentary speeches and reports, memoranda, correspondence, statutes, petitions, leading articles from the *Times,* and occasionally an obscure pamphlet. These materials, selected with discernment and imagination, illustrate what the editors consider the dominant theme of Victorian history, "the response of the institutions and traditions of an old, vigorous and highly integrated society to the twin impacts of industrialism and democracy" (p. 3). The volume, divided into twelve parts, with a short introduction and select bibliography for each part, also features an excellent introductory essay and a select general bibliography. The twelve sections cover such topics as the monarchy, parliament, economic development, the churches, Chartism and free trade, law and the penal system, central administration, local government, the Poor Law, public health, education, and industrial conditions and legislation.

The editors have brought a rather complete bibliography to the attention of the reader and in a number of incisive and at times brilliant essays have synthesized the interpretations of the outstanding scholars of the period. What emerges is a prudent appraisal of the forces and circumstances that make for continuity and change. Missing is the stereotyped presentation, so often encountered in both English and European history textbooks, that the Reform Bill of 1832 gave the middle classes a predominance of political power which enabled them to effect immediate basic changes in the economic and social structure of English institutions. Actually the aristocracy maintained control of the government in the decade following the Reform Bill of 1832. Grey's cabinet was one of the most aristocratic of the century and several of its members were to be future prime ministers. Moreover, the Whigs shared much with their Tory opponents; both were aristocratic; both had a strong feeling for the monarchy; both shared a devotion to the parliamentary constitution; both were loyal to the Church; and both believed in leadership from above. The Tories especially drew useful lessons from the agitation which attended parliamentary reform. Within Parliament, they supported Sir Robert Peel's

political strategy which successfully isolated the Radicals and outside of Parliament they accepted a role of active leadership in the many voluntary organizations religious and secular, which came into existence after 1832. It is this acceptance of the leadership principle by both aristocratic factions, abetted by the enlightened policies of Sir Robert Peel, that explains the orderly change in English institutions and traditions as well as the gradual extension of democracy.

In their choice of documents the editors have omitted material on the empire and foreign policy, already covered in other collections, and on Ireland, which will be dealt with in the 1874-1914 volume. The decision to postpone treatment of the Irish question is particularly to be lamented, for the English reaction to Ireland in this period is crucial to the comprehension of the following matters: the dynamics of English nativism and nationality; the appeal of liberalism and conservatism; the resurgence of the Tory aristocracy and the reconciliation of the House of Lords with the organs of popular opinion and the jingoistic middle and lower classes; the emotional appeal of the many religious and voluntary associations, often led by Tory aristocrats; the role played by the "patriotic" press, especially the *Times;* the split in Peel's party occasioned by the Maynooth Grant of 1845; the importance of the Irish issue in the general elections of 1837 and 1847; the relationship of Irish repeal to the popular reaction to the French revolution of 1848 and the demise of Chartism. Actually a proper emphasis upon the Irish question would have strengthened the editors' thesis, for it was the English reaction to the Irish issue between 1833-1848 which explains to a large degree the evolution of a nationalistic climate of opinion, which slowed the forces of political radicalism and produced the unity of view underlying the orderly and gradual change of the Victorian period.

It very well may be that criticism of this kind is unfair, for it is difficult to say with any finality what should or should not be included in a work of this scope. Bearing this in mind, it should be emphasized on the whole the editors have done their job exceptionally well, have chosen their materials with discernment, and have interpreted them with sophistication.

GILBERT A. CAHILL

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

The Independent Irish Party, 1850-9. By J. H. Whyte. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 201. $4.00.)

In the mythology of Irish nationalism belief survives that the Irish parliamentary party in the 1850's was wrecked by the duplicity of Dublin's Archbishop Cullen combined with that of John Sadleir and William Keogh,

the two middle-class adventurers who deserted the party to take ministerial positions in the Liberal government of Lord Aberdeen. As most authoritatively expounded in the *League of North and South* (1886) by Gavan Duffy—the Forty-Eighter and leader of the Tenant Right League to whose program of land reform the Irish party was dedicated, nationalist tradition asserts that the heavy-handed actions of the Archbishop of Dublin and the defections of Sadleir and Keogh delayed Irish political development for thirty years and destroyed the promise of ameliorating the harsh lot of the Irish tenant farmer in the 1850's.

In this excellent addition to the Oxford Historical Series, the traditional view has been re-examined and found inaccurate in many respects. The actions of the archbishop and of Sadleir and Keogh hurt, but they were by no means fatal. Nor can it now be said that the party was injured by its involvement in the bitter religious controversy that broke out after Lord John Russell in 1851 attempted to prevent the Catholic hierarchy from assuming their ecclesiastical titles. It is true that the party had originally drawn its strength from the Tenant Right League's agitation, but improved agricultural conditions had already sapped this movement before the religious controversy swamped the nation. Far from weakening the party, defense of Catholic interests gave it whatever coherence it was able to maintain for the remainder of the decade.

The difficulties of the Irish parliamentary party in the 1850's were more deeply rooted than nationalist tradition suggests. The party was in too many respects thirty years ahead of its time. To move Irish reforms —that were by their nature either irrelevant or antipathetic to the chief concerns of Westminster—an Irish party needed the electorate's firm backing, party control over policies and selection of candidates, and, of course, firm discipline in Parliament. Without such safeguards Irish parties were prey to explosive factionalism, the interference of landlords and priests, and to the disruptive seductions of government patronage. Such was the state of political party development in the 1850's that these safeguards were even beyond the powers of the major English parties.

If it accomplished nothing else the Independent Irish Party of the 1850's at least bequeathed to its successors the lessons derived from its unhappy experiences. And the value of the distortions of Duffy and others was to drive the lessons home. Parnell's party in the 1880's was ever conscious of the disasters that had earlier overtaken Duffy and his colleagues. Parnell, however, was also the beneficiary of the ballot act of 1872, which provided for the secret ballot, the extension of the franchise established in 1884, and, perhaps most important of all, of the proliferation of nationalist thought and symbol among the Irish people. Without these changes

Parnell would not have been able to organize the highly disciplined party that was in such sharp contrast to the Independent Irish Party of the 1850's.

THOMAS N. BROWN

Washington, D. C.

The Holstein Papers, The Memoirs, Diaries and Correspondence of Friedrich von Holstein, 1837-1909. Volume II. *Diaries.* Edited by Norman Rich and M. H. Fisher. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 404. $8.50.)

Does a man with a reputation for intrigue make trustworthy judgments if he persistently depicts his associates in a ceaseless round of intrigue? For Friedrich von Holstein, a counselor in the German Foreign Office under Bismarck and a maker of German foreign policy from 1890-1906, the answer must be a qualified yes. He corroborates, in an amplified way, the critical Anglo-American assessment of imperial Germany. Holstein's *Diaries,* covering the years 1881-1888, supplement his *Memoirs,* previously published by the same editors. All students of Wilhelmian times stand henceforth in their debt. A painstaking translation, ample notes, and a full index have enhanced the intrinsic value of Holstein's work.

The *Diaries* provide an intimate and unflattering glimpse of the great personalities who guided the Reich during the 1880's. They depict "a low dishonest decade" filled with rancor and scheming in the royal household and in the Foreign Office, two worlds stirred only by personal ambition and national pride. They reveal Bismarck's best and worst aspects. Holstein, whose civil career owed much to Bismarck, never ceased to admire him. He also acknowledged the diplomatic prestige conferred by Bismarck's stature; he stood in awe of the latter's uncanny foresight and his diplomatic adroitness, especially his mastery of contradictory lines of policy. But by 1886, Holstein had begun to despair of Bismarck's ability "to keep five balls in the air at once." Repeated diary entries document the chancellor's world weariness, his mounting irascibility, and his social aloofness —making him more dependent on his son Herbert's ill-founded judgment. The *Diaries* disclose a great statesman in his dotage, full of petty hates, avaricious and scheming, but not without masterful political talent. Bismarck's *riposte* in 1887 displayed it clearly. His electoral triumph smashed the parliamentary opposition; his double-edged diplomacy confounded the German generals' readiness to launch a preventive war.

Talk of war, made all the more ominous by assumptions about its inevitability, punctuates the *Diaries.* The embassies and chancellories always expected another war, even if enlightened opinion did consider Europe "too civilized" to embark on one. About the quality of German

military leadership, Holstein had no illusions. He also forecast the outcome of Bismarck's double game in diplomacy. The Germans, he said, would stand alone "because there would be no one left who trusted us." If Holstein does not exaggerate, the royal family served itself double rations of spite and malice. The three surviving generations of Hohenzollerns repeatedly astonished Holstein by their crass indifference to one another. Even William I refused to postpone a military inspection in order to consult with the doctors about a hazardous operation for his cancer-stricken son, Crown Prince Frederick. Nor did the future William II's jejune attitude toward his father's illness, as well as toward public affairs, escape Holstein's notice.

And what of Holstein himself? The *Diaries* do not altogether acquit him of the old charge of being the master plotter. It is not clear whether he intended his diaries for amusement or for blackmail. The usages of the higher civil service echelons do not rule the latter out. Still, Holstein does emerge as an exceedingly perceptive civil servant, one of the few genuine talents in a Foreign Office largely turned over to Bismarck's kinsmen. But Holstein's perception merely exposed the rules of Wilhelmian public life—by doing so he unwittingly disclosed the moral irresponsibility of imperial Germany's rulers.

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

University of Notre Dame

The Russian Intelligentsia. Makers of the Revolutionary State. By Stewart Ramsay Tompkins. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 282. $5.00.)

This volume by the professor emeritus of Russian history in the University of Oklahoma continues the survey of Russian intellectual history begun by *The Russian Mind,* published in 1953, which surveyed developments until 1855. As the title indicates, Professor Tompkins in this volume concentrated upon the class known in Russian history as the intelligentsia. Indeed, this review of Russian political and social thought from 1855 until the outbreak of World War I concentrates upon the rise of this group, the assumptions upon which its philosophy were based, and the ideas and attitudes which were common to its members, to whatever party or grouping they belonged. The main theme of the volume is that the old regime collapsed not because of its oppressive and inefficient system of government, its stagnant economy, or its unsuccessful war effort but, mainly, because the intransigeant intelligentsia would accept only complete overthrow of the system. The last chapter, which analyzes the assumptions upon which the various opposition parties all acted, provides an excellent summary of

the extremism, the absence of moderation and compromise, and the lack of conservatism in Russian thought from the Bolsheviks on the left through the Kadets in the center to the conservatives on the right, whom Professor Tompkins did not include.

The Russian Intelligentsia is really a general history of Russia from 1855 to 1914, with a special emphasis upon the radical and revolutionary ideas. As such, it suffers greatly because it is neither a detailed analysis in the field of intellectual history, nor is it a satisfactory general description of the whole panorama of Russian history during those critical years. Thus, there is no clear and convincing description and analysis of the intelligentsia, in spite of the book's title and its summary chapter. Moreover, the summary of the main changes in the economy is much too brief and inadequate. In addition, some particular groups or schools are most inadequately described. The chapter on populism, e.g., is most unclear and inaccurate. The chapter on liberalism is also weak, hardly mentioning the rise of the professional classes in Russia. The book is not based upon careful study of all the Russian materials available and of the principal American research done on the radicals and revolutionaries of the second half of the nineteenth century, a subject about which a very great deal has been written in the West. Finally, the book itself, and especially the bibliography, reveal careless methods, e.g., some titles in the bibliography do not include the place and date of publication. In one, the Harvard University catalog number, for some reason or another, has been inserted.

ROBERT F. BYRNES

Indiana University

AMERICAN HISTORY

La vie quotidienne aux Etats-Unis a la veille de la guerre de sécession, 1830-1860. By Robert Lacour-Gayet. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1957. Pp. 295. 675 frs.)

When an American reader's attention is drawn to a Frenchman's interpretation of American history, he is reminded of Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America* published in 1835. The appearance of Professor Lacour-Gayet's most recent book offers him a modern treatment of pre-Civil War America in the tradition of analytical perception and judicious synthesis which seems to be the forté of French observers and historians. Written for the "La Vie Quotidienne" series, this little volume is a worthwhile reappraisal of society in the years between Jackson and Lincoln. The author brings to his subject an admirable style and a charming wit —two elements, unfortunately, lacking in much of today's historical writing. His chapters are so organized and his paragraphs so developed that

his word picture of the period unfolds like a tapestry. In addition to careful mechanics, the book evidences the author's thorough familiarity with the era. It affords a nice balance of factual information, pertinent illustration, and unobtrusive but competent analysis.

The task of bringing unity and understanding out of the confusing pattern of American life in the three decades prior to the Civil War is a formidable one, but one successfully handled here. Professor Lacour-Gayet divides his subject into two parts: "Le Cadre de la Vie" and "L'Emploi de la Vie." In the former he takes up such general considerations as housing and travel, dress and customs; in the latter he devotes several chapters to each of the following areas: private life, professional life, intellectual and spiritual life, and political life. In his concluding chapter, "Le Caractere National," he presents his conclusions.

Professor Lacour-Gayet presents little in the way of new scholarship —such was not his purpose. Rather he brings a fresh viewpoint to traditional interpretations. He emphasizes the significance of marriage and family unity, and the widespread knowledge of the Scriptures characteristic of the period. He is alert to the problems of immigrant groups, and brings their peculiar position into his analysis of the social structure. He retells the epic of prairie and mining town with some skill and avoids moralizing on the atmosphere, mode of life, and problems of the southern plantation system. His discussion of education includes a brief description of the development of elementary and secondary schools, and an interesting though necessarily brief insight into the evolution of higher education. Although he pre-dates the German influence somewhat, the author gives a clear impression of such phenomena as co-education, fraternities, and the concept of education for the "elite." His discussion of political developments, though again summary, throws some refreshing light on a number of much-studied episodes. Typical is his comment on the 1840 election of Harrison—"un chef-d'oeuvre de démagogie" in which "on fit de lui un Napoléon." The chapter on religion reduces to their essentials such phenomena as Unitarianism, transcendentalism and the growth of the newer sects while the discussion of the revival meeting is vivid. His treatment of the Catholics, the growth of the Church after 1830 and "l'hysterie 'antiromaine'" give an unusually clear idea of the view taken of Catholics in these years.

Little can really be said in criticism of the work. The treatment of so vast a subject in less than 300 pages will cause the specialist to lament the omission of this discovery or that interpretation, and the revisionist will see (e.g., in the acceptance of Schlesinger's thesis on Jacksonian democracy) the neglect of some very recent scholarship. One or two observations should be noted. The author cites detailed material and fre-

quently quotes passages and selections without reference to his sources. The nature of the series in which the book appears may be some justification for this, but one minor weakness—that of citing with apparent acceptance the observations of such contemporary visitors as Charles Dickens and Mrs. Trollope, with no mention of their particular viewpoints—is apt at times to create inaccurate impressions. Professor Lacour-Gayet's concluding remarks under the heading "the American Character" are quite incisive. He notes the mobility of the ante-bellum society—"tout est en circulation"—and points out the optimism, the equalitarianism (and, indeed, the pragmatism) of the American of the period. Notice, too, is taken of the almost Calvinistic "goût du labeur" of the day.

Altogether, here is an interesting and informative twentieth-century picture of American society a hundred years ago, deftly sketched by an author who has succeeded in following his own rule: no ideas without facts, no facts without ideas. It is a work which will go a long way in facilitating Franco-American understanding in these troubled times and, indeed, in translation it would find a warm reception on this side of the Atlantic. This reviewer cannot help hoping that the author, back in his native France after a number of years on these shores, will turn his abilities next to what could well be a classic—a study of democracy in America—*today*.

EDWARD M. MCNULTY

Rider College

The South. A Documentary History. By Ina Woestemeyer Van Noppen. (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. xvi, 564. $4.73.)

Professor Van Noppen has produced a much needed work in this first documentary history of the South. As the interest of the nation turns southward in the present era the publication of such a volume fills a definite place in southern Americana. The author displays her ability in gathering together a collection of interesting, easy-to-read, and informative documents depicting the march of events in the South from 1528 until the present. A professor of history at Appalachian State Teachers College in West Virginia, the author draws upon her classroom experience in selecting topics from a wide field of primary sources. Readings are picked from diaries, letters, travel books, and speeches. Only a few newspapers are used, although newspapers are usually enlightening and tend to present an account of local conditions not found in other sources. The work contains twenty-two chapters with appropriate sections within each chapter, and an introduction to each section serves to inform the reader what to expect in the readings that follow. This makes for ease in finding specific topics and increases the worth of the volume as a handy reference work.

Francis Butler Simkins has written an excellent introduction to the book in which he discusses the various factors that go to make up the southern way of life. Simkins deserves high praise for putting into a short and concise chapter the outstanding peculiarities that form the South into a regional entity. The final chapter presents a complete up-to-date picture of the South in the mid-1950's and leaves the reader with a glowing future of continued expansion for the South.

The editor has produced a wide range of topics dealing with such fields as religion among southerners, the conservative southern politics, agricultural and industrial problems, and the relations of Negroes and whites. In any volume of this kind an editor has to show great tact and prudence in selecting the most pertinent documents in order to present a full and complete picture. Miss Van Noppen has accomplished this task to an eminent degree. Even so, there are several places where a sense of incompleteness occurs to this reviewer. In the chapter, "Education in the New South," e.g., there is a total of seventeen documents of which six refer to the problems of women's education, two to the educational progress of one state, North Carolina, while nine deal with Negro educational problems. This overemphasis on Negro and feminine educational progress leaves out of consideration the tremendous efforts to promote southern education by the state universities, the agricultural and mechanical colleges, and such institutions as Vanderbilt and Peabody in Nashville, Tennessee.

The editor, in describing the literature since the Civil War, states that she does not seek to cover the entire literature since the war. Yet mention should have been made of the "Fugitive Movement" of the 1920's which produced such southern men of letters as Alan Tate, Donald Davidson, and John Crowe Ransom. Nor will Texans appreciate the lack of reference to their part in the development of the industrial South. The editor in leaving out any reference to the Texan oil and cattle industry does, however, describe the sport activities of the Texans! The volume as a whole contributes substantially to a greater understanding of the South and its many problems, past and present. Some maps and more illustrations would have added a fuller comprehension of the South as a regional entity.

ALOYSIUS PLAISANCE

St. Bernard College

Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882. The Mission of George Perkins Marsh, First American Minister to the Kingdom of Italy. By Sister Mary Philip Trauth, S.N.D. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 190. $2.25.)

Availing herself fully of a galaxy of unpublished records and documents in the foreign affairs section of the National Archives, including Marsh's

diplomatic despatches, the instructions sent to him by the several Secretaries of State, consular despatches, notes to and from the Italian Legation in Washington, several volumes of miscellaneous letters, and several more in the War Records Division and the Industrial Records Division, besides many published primary sources and books and articles on the subject, Sister Mary Philip has, with extraordinary skill and diligent care, reconstructed the story of the twenty-one years of the diplomatic mission of George Perkins Marsh, the first American Minister to the newly established Kingdom of Italy. In addition to an introduction, a conclusion, an appendix discussing Marsh's despatches and some aspects of the Risorgimento *denouement*, the study is divided into five chapters, e.g., Italy and the Civil War; Italy and the aftermath; the United States and the Italian problems; Italo-American treaties; and Italo-American relations with third powers. There are also a good bibliography and a serviceable index.

Sister Mary Philip has rendered a valuable and useful service to students and scholars of Italian political and diplomatic history and of international affairs and she is to be congratulated on her ability to sift through volumes of documents and separate the essential and significant facts from what may be classed as gossip and garrulity. Besides, she has dealt with a difficult, complex, and delicate problem with great discernment and acumen.

Mr. Marsh was a brilliant scholar, though, as Sister Mary Phillip points out, his learning was broad rather than deep. He was an accomplished linguist, spoke several European languages fluently, and even knew several Nordic languages. Possessed of a unique character, Marsh inherited an intense dislike for Catholicism, a dislike which remained with him throughout his life, a respect for earthly possessions and fortunes, and wholesome habits of godly living. But it was as a diplomat that Marsh met with extraordinary success. In the portrait that Sister Mary Philip has drawn, the figure of Marsh looms high, for he emerges, in many ways, as a great and a distinguished diplomat. It must be remembered that the question of appointing diplomatic representatives to protect the interests of the United States abroad was particularly important during the Civil War crisis. Although sectional and political interests had to be taken into account, the appointment which was considered in many ways the most logical and a most excellent one was that of Marsh to Italy. He had already served as minister to Turkey, Greece, and the Scandinavian countries and, therefore, was fully acquainted with the intricate political problems of Europe of that period. Marsh was to remain at his post in Italy twenty-one years, i.e., from 1861 to his death in 1882, a record achievement for a politically appointed diplomat.

Throughout the more than two decades of Marsh's Italian mission there were never any serious difficulties between the two countries. There was

instead mutual understanding, sincere sympathy, and regard for the many political and economic problems that beset each nation, and a keen desire to help in their solution—a strong feeling of moral kinship. Nevertheless, Marsh invariably showed ability, integrity, and finesse in all his dealings with the several Italian governments; he was always scrupulous and exact in his work. It took him seven years to draft, negotiate, and bring to fruition the treaty of commerce and navigation. But all this time was fully justified by the fact that it remained in force for seventy years. As Sister Mary Philip points out, his long period of service gave continuity and stability to the mutual policies that were evolved by the two governments. There is no denying that Marsh gave the imprint of his great personality to the American policy toward the newly-united kingdom. The American ministers who succeeded him were able lawyers and writers, but none had the prestige and exerted the influence of this Vermonter.

Sister Mary Philip's study suggests several *sequelae*. There are many facets to the story of Italo-American relations which have not yet been fully explored and studied; there are also many periods and many topics that have not as yet been charted and chronicled. It is the fervent wish of this reviewer that more departments of history, government, and Italian of our major universities encourage some of their better students to devote themselves to a serious study of this fascinating and relatively unexplored subject of Italo-American relations. The results will be fruitful and most rewarding.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

Thunder in the North. Conflict over the Riel Risings . . . 1870 and 1885. By R. E. Lamb, C.S.B. (New York: Pageant Press, Inc. 1957. Pp. 354. $5.00.)

This is a useful and in many ways an interesting account of one of the most curious and debatable episodes in the history of Canada in the two decades following the confederation of the provinces in 1867. The central figure in the story, Louis David Riel, was not one of the great men of history, although in his recurring periods of hallucination toward the end of his life he obviously believed that he was. Circumstances made him for a few years the leader of a forlorn hope, a hope which he himself did much to kindle among his fellow Métis, that they could withstand the economic and political changes then beginning in western Canada, and continue their simple traditional way of life on the lands which they, or their fathers, had occupied.

The two uprisings in which he took a leading part, one on the Red River in 1870, the other on the Saskatchewan fifteen years later, were

not in themselves events of great moment. The numbers engaged, at least on the side of the rebels, were insignificant; and the end, though it might have been delayed for a time, could never have been in doubt. The second was the more serious, not only because of the remoteness of the region, but because any initial success by the rebels might have been followed by a general rising of the Indian tribes on both sides of the border. What was important was that the action of Riel and his followers was in both cases a challenge to a government whose authority was not yet firmly established; and these risings, ending in the trial and execution of Riel, had repercussions on the delicately balanced political and racial situation in eastern Canada which left a deep and unpleasant imprint on the history of the new dominion for a long time to come.

It is with this latter aspect of the subject that Father Lamb is chiefly concerned. A substantial part of his book consists of extracts from the statements of contemporaries, which reveal as nothing else could the divergent views of large sections of the population in the two major provinces of the dominion. The analysis of the forces coming into conflict in each of the regions where rebellion occurred is illuminating. The narrative of events during and after the disturbances is clear and straightforward. A useful feature is the generally balanced criticism of the inept and often high-handed methods of government agents, especially in the Red River country, where the situation was at best confused, and where McDougall, the chief commissioner, did less than nothing to reduce the confusion. The criticism is solidly based on contemporary evidence, but it does not go beyond what others have written on the subject. In both areas the government was badly served; and not a little of the difficulty can be attributed to ignorance and misinformation, and to the seeming unconcern and indifference of the prime minister and his cabinet until fear and unrest among the Métis broke into actual rebellion. But that is ground that has been covered before, and Father Lamb adds little here that is novel or original.

The more valuable and interesting parts of the book are those which deal with the reaction to these events in Ontario and Quebec. On the facts of Riel's activity there could be no dispute; and on those facts he was convicted of treason in the summer of 1885 by a court whose validity was unsuccessfully challenged by the defense. The controversy arose over the question of whether he should be executed; and on that question the division of opinion between the English and French provinces subjected the recently formed federation to an extreme test. Riel's mental condition was certainly unstable, and there are episodes in his life which clearly suggest insanity. It is probably true, as Father Lamb remarks, that in similar circumstances today he would almost certainly be committed to an institution for the criminally insane. But the so-called experts at the trial were

divided; and the Catholic clergy of the district, including Bishop Grandin, condemned him in language which contained no hint of his not being responsible for his actions.

There was, however, reason to believe that the decision of the government on execution or commutation was being influenced by political considerations. Whatever the truth of the allegation, it is clear that all parties were aware of the possible implications. The point is put succinctly in a letter to the prime minister from one of his Ontario supporters at the height of the controversy. "If Riel is spared by any action of the government," he wrote, "it means the utter disruption of the Conservative party in the province of Ontario as well as in the outlying ones. If he is punished, it means a mere surface excitement in Quebec." The analysis was not quite correct. The agitation in Quebec was, in Father Lamb's judgment, emotional and largely political. But it roused racial and religious animosity to a dangerous height, and it did not spend itself in a month or a year.

Father Lamb has made an exhaustive search of all available evidence on the subject; and the lengthy extracts which he prints from the correspondence of ministers and their supporters, from the records of parliamentary debates, and from the press of both provinces will be of the greatest value to students of the period. His conclusions are cautious, and his own opinions seldom obtrude. But the production of the book itself leaves something to be desired. Proofreading has at times been careless. One unfortunate result is the absence of necessary accents in many of the French documents. There are, too, some incomplete and obscure sentences, and some instances of incorrect spelling of names. A useful annotated bibliography is appended; but there is no index, an omission which, in a book of this kind, is almost unpardonable.

DONALD J. MCDOUGALL

University of Toronto

The A. F. of L. in the Time of Gompers. By Philip Taft. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1957. Pp. xx, 508. $6.75.)

The implicit theme of this study is that wise leadership on the part of its president, Samuel Gompers, enabled the American Federation of Labor to become "a distinct entity, separate from its individual components"—mainly national or international unions predominantly craft in structure. Although these bodies delegated little power and sedulously guarded their autonomy, the A. F. of L. developed into "an independent institution and the spokesman for the major segment of the organized workers of the United States and Canada." As an "associate" of the late John R. Commons in charting the course of research and writing in American labor history,

Professor Taft is prepared to admire Gompers' career and to sympathize with the objectives and methods of "business unionism." But these predispositions are not allowed to distort the factual picture which shows, as the author indicates in his masterly introduction and in the story proper, that the A. F. of L. under the direction of Gompers evolved into a mechanism capable of voicing and realizing many of the aspirations of American workingmen.

The author is unconcerned with the private life of Gompers, except to mention that his seeking comfort from the bottle and relaxation in burlesque shows did not in the least interfere with his tireless devotion to the trade-union cause. The leadership Gompers supplied is revealed by his endless correspondence with union heads, his recommendations to the annual conventions, and his day-to-day participation in the work of the executive council. The author bases his narrative on these official sources to the exclusion largely of secondary accounts. Powerless to resolve jurisdictional conflicts, Gompers followed a policy of "procrastination and tolerance." The author suggests that had this policy been adhered to in the 1930's, the C. I. O. secession could have been avoided. Gompers had never in principle preferred craft to industrial unionism. In contrast, his "anti-governmentalism," Taft insists, was a doctrinaire position, not far removed from philosophical anarchy. Except for accident insurance and factory health codes, Gompers opposed protective legislation to improve the condition of adult workingmen. Assuming that all workers were ultimately organizable, he was confident that they could attain their ends through collective bargaining alone. In some degree, Gompers feared that social legislation would serve as an entering wedge for Socialism which won a wide following in the A. F. of L. during the Progressive era. But mainly he feared that government, if authorized to modify employer-employee relations, would inevitably oppress labor, the weaker party. By the time of World War I, as the author emphasizes, a clear majority in the federation no longer shared Gompers' distrust. The decline of trade-unionism during the post-war reaction once again placed the extreme "voluntarists" in the ascendancy and delayed final victory to the labor legislationists until the 1930's.

While, perhaps, not a definitive history of the American Federation of Labor in the Gompers era, this book is comprehensive and singularly complete. It illuminates all relevant issues, not the least of which are civil and trade-union liberties and the first intimate contacts between American and world labor. The presentation—clear, perspicacious, and concise—is a measure of the author's mastery of materials and maturity of judgment.

AARON I. ABELL

University of Notre Dame

Al Smith and His America. By Oscar Handlin. (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Co. 1958. Pp. x, 207. $3.50.)

This book is one of the latest additions to the Library of American Biography series. Edited by the author of *Al Smith and His America,* these studies do not pretend to be detailed, heavily documented accounts of their subjects. Rather, they are more in the nature of interpretative essays by competent scholars on Americans who have made significant contributions to the traditions and development of their country. Mr. Handlin made a worthy choice in Al Smith and has given us, albeit in a sympathetic way, some valuable insights into the character and motivations of one of the twentieth century's most astute politicians.

Al Smith was no ordinary politician; it is far more accurate to recall him, as Handlin does, as a person highly skilled in the art of statecraft. It was an art, however, not easily acquired. By the time Smith reached the governorship he had behind him a long and laborious apprenticeship, beginning with menial duties at the ward level and extending through such responsible positions as assembly majority leader, chairman of ways and means, and delegate to the constitutional convention of 1915. Elected governor in 1918, Smith was extremely effective during a period not noted for strong chief executives. His appointments were good; he recruited an excellent staff, and successfully pioneered as a legislative leader. Particularly noteworthy for political scientists was his administrative reorganization of the state government and his creation of an executive budget. Handlin's treatment of the several terms at Albany, together with the earlier years, constitutes the best portion of the book. The author does not merely chronicle these high points in Smith's political career. Through his interpretative analysis Smith's political principles are sharply defined. While government for Al was a positive agency with responsibility for promoting the social welfare of the less fortunate elements of society, his political actions were guided more by a strong pragmatism rather than any comprehensive philosophy. Nor is this a derogatory judgment. Smith had a social conscience and all the right political instincts. It is interesting to note how frequently he arrived at the same goal as the Progressives and reformers, but by a different route.

It was, of course, with his governorship that Al Smith's political career really ended. Everything thereafter was an anti-climax, and a sad one at that. To Handlin, Smith's defeat in 1928 shattered the eighteenth and nineteenth-century dream of equality and full opportunity. Perhaps it did, but there is over-simplification in the presentation here. The American dream had been frustrated before. It has never been fully realized and may never be. The 1928 election, dark episode that it was, must be kept in proper dimensions. From this point on the book trails off, as did Al's life. There

is frank recognition that after 1932 Smith failed to adjust his thinking to a new world and new situations of fact, although one detects that the author's heart favors Smith *vis à vis* Roosevelt. This is scarcely a serious criticism of a work so readable from the literary standpoint and so good in its interpretations. There is also a helpful note on sources at the end.

PAUL T. HEFFRON

Boston College

The Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902. By Robert J. Cornell, O.Praem. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 279. $3.00.)

This monograph presents a restudy of the anthracite strike of 1902 using many collections of private papers, government reports, periodicals, histories, and the press of the period. Geographic, economic, and to some extent social backgrounds, set the scene initially. Then a larger and very pertinent backdrop covers the anthracite strike of 1900, largely settled because of political pressures important to the McKinley campaign of that year. Events following that settlement and leading up to the longer, more hardly fought strike of 1902, which started on May 10, are summarized adequately. The remainder of the book covers in more detail the events of the strike itself and the settlement. A final chapter reviews the work of President Roosevelt's Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, the existence of which by and large put the men back to work on October 23, 1902.

For the most part, Father Cornell focuses his attention on the actions of the principals involved, especially John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America. His treatment, as it ought to be, is sympathetic yet detached and objective. The interests of the mine owners, in most cases the railroad companies serving the anthracite areas and in the financial sphere of influence of J. Pierpont Morgan, are fairly stated. But of particular interest is the intervention of Theodore Roosevelt in a new and very successful manner. Working through many able men, especially Elihu Root, Secretary of War, and on the advice of W. Murray Crane, Governor of Massachusetts, and others, Roosevelt contrived a plan of action that ended the strike and settled many of the issues. John Mitchell recognized the operators' commission plan (actually Root's plan) as arbitration, highly acceptable to the UMW. The railroad-mine interests and Morgan viewed the commission as a chance to get the mines into operation without humiliation and a change of venue from their unpopular, unbending position which withheld recognition of the UMW and prolonged the strike. Edgar E. Clark, Grand Chief of the Order of Railway Con-

ductors, appointed by Roosevelt as a "sociologist" on the commission, circumvented the operators' adamant stand against any labor representative.

This is an excellent job, well organized and written, leaving little to be desired. One could only hope for more treatment of the *change* of Roosevelt's attitude toward labor, once in the White House. Use of Howard Lawrence Hurwitz's work on Roosevelt's labor attitudes during the years 1880-1900, could have enlarged the author's contribution. On the other hand, this research dispels the implications of some historians that Roosevelt used veiled threats to force the operators into agreements. This is a significant chapter in American labor history.

JAMES JERRY GREEN

Niles, Michigan

The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932. By William E. Leuchtenburg. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 313. $3.50.)

In this history of the United States during the "roaring twenties," one of the latest in the University of Chicago series, Professor Leuchtenburg of Columbia University steers clear of political partisanship and lively social history. For this theme is that the rise of "excessive conformity," the intensification of the struggle between values of the metropolis and of the country, and the increase of secularism, problems which reached a climax during this time, brought to an end nineteenth-century liberalism. Paradoxes are regarded as attempts by Americans to cherish old beliefs and, simultaneously, to practice new ones. Although the author emphasizes perils, e.g., the increasing power of businessmen and the increasing influence of a shallow view of the universe, amongst others, he likewise recognizes gains, e.g., urbanism, to the rural mind, appeared less threatening to Americans' values and ugly problems of racialism and intolerance were brought into the open.

These ideas are developed with chapters, in the form of essays, arranged in chronological order. American participation in World War I is called "Innocents Abroad"; the Red Scare, short-lived, is checked by hedonism not liberalism; Republican foreign policy is considered the only practical solution, even though it was shortsighted. In "Tired Radicals" the author argues brilliantly that Progressivism died mainly because it did not join the newer urban Progressivism of Al Smith, but the fundamental differences between the movements are not examined. In "The Revolution in Morals" the weakening of the importance of moral values is indicted justly, even though it did mitigate the harsher judgments of rural Protestantism. A revision of interpretations that find Hoover a do-nothing president or a tool of Wall Street is attempted by citing the Agricultural

Marketing Act, the R. F. C., the Grain Stabilization Corporation, and the Federal Home Loan Act. This approach, fair as it is, is difficult to reconcile with the evidence presented which shows that Hoover refused to believe his own experts on the numbers of unemployed and the significance of the problem and that he vetoed relief and public works bills as late as 1932.

In this excellent synthesis, based on an exhaustive sifting of all pertinent material and articles, this reviewer found only one error: General Wood was not chief-of-staff in 1919. For judicious raising of grave questions about democracy in the United States, for careful presentations of the solutions advanced at that time for the problems of the decade, many still unsolved, for thoughtful weighing of the latest research in the field, *The Perils of Prosperity 1914-1932* is highly recommended.

EUGENE J. O'NEILL

St. John's University
New York

The Decision to Intervene. By George F. Kennan. [Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920, Volume II.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 513. $7.50.)

Much admirable research and fine historical writing are embodied in this excellent second volume of Mr. George F. Kennan's three-volume series on Soviet-American relations from 1917 to 1920. This particular work begins with March, 1918, the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and ends with October of that year, just before the conclusion of World War I. Not only has Mr. Kennan drawn on the usual source material available, he has also utilized some new collections of diplomatic correspondence, as well as personal contacts with some of the protagonists still living, in order to clarify the clouds of obscurity surrounding the American decision to intervene in the land of the infant Soviet Republic. He points out how America's "haziness about military realities" in 1918 led to the illusion that "the problems of Russia, like those of Europe proper, would find their solution automatically in an Allied victory over Germany" (p .10). When one recalls the atmosphere of the times, in which the kaiser's Germany became "the devil in European politics," one would have to agree.

The author examines the reasons behind the American intervention in north Russia and Siberia late in the summer of 1918. He also touches on the British and French plans in this diplomatic context. Here is the tragedy of "war-weary governments" with "inadequacy of information and poor coordination." Here also are the delineations of such principal actors

as Ambassador David R. Francis, Consul General Maddin Summers, as well as the Chief of the American Red Cross Commission to Russia, Colonel Raymond Robins, and his personal aide, Alexander Gumberg. The supporting cast of Kennan's historical drama includes such Russian experts as his own first cousin twice removed, George Kennan, and Professor Samuel N. Harper from the University of Chicago. Through his own personal experience in diplomatic circles Mr. Kennan also brilliantly probes into the inner conflicts in the American community inside Russia.

Finally, the writer traces the "pervasive dilettantism in the execution of American policy" (p. 472) as one of the principal reasons for the failures of an intervention which cost so much and produced such meager results, e.g., the American decision aimed only at guard duty in the Russian ports, so that supplies at Murmansk and Archangel would not fall into German hands. Ironically our intervention, however, almost at once took the form of expeditions into the interior, at odds with the very limiting nature of the original American decision itself. But Mr. Kennan exemplifies the tolerance and charitableness born out of personal sympathy with the problems involved in any proposed diplomatic action, in which many of the factors and broader issues are temporarily hidden from the view of the very men called upon to make decisions. There is, in short, no muck-raking here.

RAYMOND T. MCNALLY

Boston College

American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952. Robert A. Divine. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 220. $4.00.)

One of the lines inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty reads: "Give me your tired, your poor." To those words the year 1924 might well have added the significant phrase, "but not too many of them." For in 1924 the American government embarked on a permanent policy of immigration restriction, a policy which reversed the open arms greeting traditional in our history. This book is a careful study of the course of that policy from 1924 down to the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. It deals at length with the growth of restrictionist sentiment, the struggle over national origins quotas, the historical developments influencing immigration, and the adoption of the restrictionist McCarran-Walter Bill.

Mr. Divine traces the development of immigration policy to four fundamental factors working in harmony or in conflict. These four essential elements are the economic, social (racial), nationalist, and internationalist aspects of immigration. Significantly, moral and humanitarian issues are not listed as fundamental in the controversies over restriction. The author

skillfully blends and contrasts his four determinants of policy, showing how racial, economic, and nationalist considerations tend to produce restriction, while the demands of foreign policy emphasize the need for a more liberal program. In the final analysis of the McCarran-Walter Bill racial and national considerations outweighed internationalism and produced an essentially restrictionist immigration policy.

American Immigration Policy, 1924-1925 is a valuable book, especially in view of the dearth of literature dealing directly with governmental policy toward immigrants. A fine feature of the work is its emphasis on the role of the executive branch of the government in controlling immigration. Limitation under President Hoover during the depression and a liberal displaced persons program under President Roosevelt testify to the importance of administrative enforcement in the development of policy. Likewise the roles of organized labor, the patriotic societies, and the veterans' organizations are clearly delineated. Both the pressures brought to bear on Congress and the issue of racial discrimination inherent in so many of the controversies are highlighted. For sources, the author relied heavily on government documents and the papers of the House and Senate Immigration Committees. Such sources lead quite naturally to an analysis in detail rather than in depth, with a consequent lack of emphasis on the philosophy which is truly basic to the formulation of policy. The restrictionists will not be happy with their rather harsh treatment. While Mr. Divine disclaims any aim to condemn restriction, he frequently equates restrictionist philosophy with a basic denial of American democratic principles. Some of his implications are extreme. In general, however, the author's conclusions are solid and reasonable, and his scholarship sheds much light on the development of American immigration policy.

EDWARD T. HUGHES

St. Charles Seminary
Philadelphia

Reflections on America. By Jacques Maritain. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. 205. $3.50.)

This book records the noted French philosopher's observations after a quarter-century's residence and teaching in the United States. The very friendly critique ranges from profound insights on American society and ideals gained from thoughtful reflection to first and immediate impressions of manners and morals. The judgments are of major interest to specialists in intellectual and social history, of lesser appeal to those in the economic and political fields. This work is equally addressed to Americans as an expression of the author's love for them and their institutions as it is written to correct European prejudice and misinformation; the author

contends that the many significant changes in the recent past have so altered American society that many hostile opinions traditionally held by Europeans are now outdated. Although the subjects discussed are many and varied, one dominant thread or motif runs throughout and unifies these random reflections: the belief in the dignity of man is the central theme of American life. This, says Maritain, helps to explain our continuing zeal for domestic reform and jealous regard for individual freedom, and partially accounts for the basic national characteristics of generosity, good will, and sense of human fellowship. This concept or value, he feels, is the most important contribution the United States can make to the contemporary world and is its greatest legacy to future civilizations.

In foreign eyes America is crassly materialistic and the embodiment of soulless, predatory capitalism. Professor Maritain takes pains to dispel both notions. He points out that avarice is not our motivation in acquiring wealth and that Americans value money as a means for better personal living and for improving the lot of others, as the large sums spent by private charities, particularly for foreign peoples, attest. He is far more perturbed, however, by the European penchant for equating the American economy with traditional nineteenth-century capitalism, a distorted view which seriously hampers this country's effectiveness abroad in counteracting the claims of Communism. This misunderstanding ignores the fact that in their idealism Americans have accepted the structure but rejected the full implications of a materialist, industrial civilization. Their spirit of rebellion to it, expressed in constant criticism and periodic reform, has so modified capitalism that today even the giant corporations think in terms of the public good and interest.

Professor Maritain strongly believes in a providential mission for the United States. Though a secular state, America is basically Christian-inspired and upon this country rests the hope for a Christian democracy whose values, idealism, and achievements—when properly formulated by its intellectuals and presented abroad—can form the framework for a new Christian civilization. Mr. Maritain's labor of love can very well serve as a first step in that direction.

JAMES J. HANNAH

University of Santa Clara

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Apostle of Brazil. The Biography of Padre José de Anchieta, S.J. (1534-1597). By Helen G. Dominian. (New York: Exposition Press, Inc. 1958. Pp. xvii, 346. $5.00.)

This is a well written biography of one of the three best known Jesuits of colonial Brazil, Father José de Anchieta, the apostle of Brazil. The

other two are Manuel da Nóbrega, first provincial in Brazil, and Antônio Vieira, famous for his missionary work in the Amazon area. Historians argue as to the relative importance of these three, but there is no doubt, it seems to me, that Anchieta, because of his endearing qualities and saintly disposition, has captured the imagination of Brazilians most completely. He is a veritable legend, a folk hero!

The outline of his life tells us why. Born in the Canary Islands of Basque-Guanche parents, he was sent at sixteen to the University of Coimbra where, one year later, he entered the infant Society of Jesus. Due to a spinal injury the young cleric became a hunchback ("His spine had the shape of the letter S"). Since it was feared that seminary studies were too much for his failing strength, it was decided to send Anchieta and another ailing seminarian to Brazil for their health! This was upon the somewhat ingenuous recommendation of Father Nóbrega who had in a burst of enthusiasm extolled the mild climate, good food, air, and water of Brazil. Anchieta went, and for forty-four long, gruelling years he labored incessantly under terrible living and food conditions in the Brazilian "health resort." Jesuits died on all sides of him at early ages, worn out by their privations. But José lived on almost to the end of the sixteenth century, beloved even by the inconstant cannibalistic Indians of the forest.

This frail but fearless man had his hand in almost everything the Jesuits accomplished in Brazil in that century: founding schools, writing grammars, converting Indians, acting as peacemaker (he was held as hostage for three months by the cannibalistic Tamoyo Indians), serving as provincial of the growing Jesuit province, ever a source of strength to the young Jesuits. He grew so accustomed to life in the miserable Indian villages that in his old age he preferred to live there rather than in a city.

The author of this biography, Helen G. Dominian, has performed a service to English-speaking peoples by making Anchieta's figure better known. One might here and there quibble about her understanding of anthropology (p. 123), or about her lack of comprehension of ecclesiastical matters, or her almost universal dependence on one source, the *História da Companhia de Jesús no Brasil,* by Serafim Leite, S.J. This reviewer would have liked to read less about the oft-reiterated paeans of praise concerning Anchieta's "love for his poor Brasis," which no one doubts, and more about his work as author and especially as provincial, for which he has been criticized by his own confrères. One question: this reviewer would like to know how the author ascertained the modern monetary value of the subsidy paid the Jesuit missionaries in Brazil (". . . the meager subsidy of thirteen cents a day" [p. 273]). No source is given for this welcome solution to one of the knottiest problems of Brazilian historiography. But let there be no misunderstanding: Helen

Dominian has written a superior type biography, scrupulously documented, and pulsing with her respect and love for the "Apostle of Brazil."

MATHIAS C. KIEMEN

Academy of American Franciscan History

Chile Through Embassy Windows, 1939-1953. By Claude G. Bowers. (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc. 1958. Pp. ix, 375. $5.00.)

Here is a book which many people ought to read. It is basically an attempt to introduce Chile and the Chileans to North Americans. No historian would consider it a penetrating study. Nevertheless, it does serve a useful function, viz., of making the Chilean way of life more intelligible to the average reader.

Like so many of his compatriots, Claude Bowers had very little knowledge of the country to which he was assigned as ambassador prior to his arrival in Santiago in 1939. He was, consequently, totally unprepared for what he experienced and observed in the years that followed. He discovered, to his delight as well as his surprise, that the Chileans were a friendly, hard-working, fun-loving people who had many things in common with North Americans. There was their spirit of independence and self-assertion, their pride in their national heritage and traditions, their ability to combine business with pleasure in proper proportion, their interest in international affairs, and their sincere attachment to the principles of democracy. On no occasion was this last trait more clearly manifested than during the bitter controversy which broke out over Chile's delay in severing diplomatic relations with the Axis after Pearl Harbor. As Mr. Bowers rightly points out, this delay was not due to any official sympathy for the Axis powers, but simply to the fact that "public opinion, which determines the actions of a democracy, was not yet prepared for such a step" (p. 99). It was not until the inherent democracy of the Chilean people had overcome their traditional friendship for Germany that the government was in a position to take the action which Washington urged. To have done so sooner, at a time when public opinion was not yet mobilized in support of the break, would have been to undermine the principles of democratic government. Had this point been clearly understood by our own Department of State, much mutual bitterness and recrimination would have been avoided.

As might be expected in a book of this sort, the tone of the narrative changes frequently. Sometimes it is light and charming as in the chapters on native humor, tourist resorts, country scenes and estates, social customs, and Chilean women. At other times it is more serious as when the author

discusses the vital questions of national economy and education, foreign investments in Chilean industries, Communist agitation, Nazi plots, and the success of the Good Neighbor Policy. Scattered throughout the entire volume are verbal portraits of eminent statesmen and public personalities which add life and color to the narrative. The chapter on Church-State relations is superficial but commendably fair. Many readers will undoubtedly question Mr. Bowers' conviction that Chile will never succumb to Communist pressure, but if one accepts his original premise concerning the vitality of Chilean democracy there is little reason to be seriously alarmed.

EUGENE H. KORTH

Marquette University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

With the first number of the new Volume XLV the REVIEW is happy to welcome two new advisory editors for a three-year term as well as to thank George L. A. Reilly of Seton Hall University and Walter W. Wilkinson of Georgetown University whose term has expired for the service they have rendered to the journal during the past three years. The new advisory editors are David J. Herlihy, assistant professor of history in Bryn Mawr College, and Vincent G. Tegeder, O.S.B., chairman of the Department of History and professor in St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. Mr. Herlihy took his A.B. degree at the University of San Francisco in 1951, his A.M. at the Catholic University of America in 1952, and his doctorate at Yale University in 1956. During 1954-1955 he was a Fulbright scholar in Italy where he did research for his book, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance* (New Haven, 1958). Mr. Herlihy is secretary of the American section of the international committee for the revision of Potthast's *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi* and is the author of articles that have appeared in *Speculum, Economic History Review, American Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs, Agricultural History Review, Bollettino Storico Pisano,* and *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.* Father Vincent completed his undergraduate work at St. John's University, Collegeville, and his graduate training at the University of Wisconsin where he earned the master's degree in 1942 and the doctorate in 1949. While in residence at Madison he held a fellowship in history where his field of concentration was the development of the American West during the nineteenth century. His doctoral dissertation dealt with Lincoln and the West, a manuscript that he is at present reworking with a view to publication. He has published articles dealing with various aspects of frontier growth in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Minnesota History,* and the *American Benedictine Review.*

Grace Guiney of Oxford, England, literary executor of Louise Imogen Guiney (1861-1920), Boston poet and scholar, has deposited her Guiney Collection in the Dinand Library of the College of the Holy Cross. The collection includes personal copies with marginalia of Louise Guiney's published works, presentation copies of books and poems by her literary friends, many manuscripts of her own writings and some manuscript poems of her friends, her notebooks and scrapbooks, and hundreds of letters. There are nearly 2,000 letters in the collection; numbering 114 letters by

Louise Imogen Guiney; 1,753 letters to her; forty-three letters by her father, General Patrick R. Guiney. Many of the letters are from literary friends, among whom were Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Ralph Adams Cram, Willa Cather, Ferris Greenslet, Hamlin Garland, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas W. Higginson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sarah Orne Jewett, Louise Chandler Moulton, John Boyle O'Reilly, Thomas W. Parsons, Clinton Scollard, and Charles Warren Stoddard. The letters of General Guiney were written to his wife during the Civil War as an officer in the Ninth Massachusetts Volunteers. Dinand Library now has 138 Civil War letters of the general who, like his daughter, had a talent for letter writing. His letters to his wife are filled with news of the camp and military situation, and Dinand Library plans to publish this collection of letters.

Students interested in the career of Charles J. Bonaparte (1851-1921), Secretary of the Navy and Attorney General in the cabinet of Theodore Roosevelt, will be glad to learn that a register of the papers of this prominent Catholic statesman in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has been published and is for sale by the Card Division of the library, Washington 25, D. C.

The latest issue of the *Miscellany* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (December, 1958) contains a useful listing of the society's numerous manuscripts under the following divisions: family papers, personal papers of the colonial and early national period, personal papers chiefly of the nineteenth century, and other collections. Copies of this issue of the *Miscellany* may be procured at 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15.

In 1952 the Leningrad manuscript of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* appeared in facsimile reproduction. E. A. Lowe, noted paleographer, after studying the folios believes that the last line of the colophon, BEDA FAMVLVS XPI INDIGNVS, was written in Bede's own hand. ["An autograph of the Venerable Bede?" *Revue Bénédictine,* LXVIII (1958), 200-202.] He bases this important discovery upon the variance in inks, the uncertain strokes that indicate the handwriting of an old man, and the departures from the usual forms and even grammatical structure. Since then, Professor A. D. Lyublinskaya of the University of Leningrad examined the original and reported her confirmation of this judgment.

E. F. Jacobs, Chicele professor of modern history at Oxford and celebrated for his essays on conciliarism, reports on the most recent studies of this movement ["The Conciliar Movement in Recent Study," *Bulletin of*

the John Rylands Library, XLI (September, 1958), 26-53]. Many documents have come to light such as the nearly contemporary registers preserved at Berlin, Danzig, Eichstädt, and the *Archivo di Stato* at Florence. These reveal much of the sinuous diplomacy of the later Middle Ages grown more confused by the schism. They also point to the intellectual revolt centered in the universities of central Europe as well as the quarrel between the Polish people and the Teutonic Knights represented at Constance by Paul Wlodkowic of Brudzen, Rector of the University of Cracow. This important conflict is usually eclipsed by the more fateful events that led to the burning of Jerome of Prague and Jan Hus, the latter condemned in great measure for his treatise *de ecclesia.*

An outstanding addition to the study of conciliar problems comes with the publication of the Greek *Acta* of the Council of Florence, edited by the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, under the guidance of Joseph Gill, S.J. These documents manifest the fundamental differences in the debates between Greeks and Latins, widened greatly by the use of terminology on both sides that was not only unacceptable to all, but often unintelligible to the notaries.

A few of the volumes of the J. Pelikan-H. Lehmann edition of Luther's writings have begun to appear (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press. 1957. 55 volumes). They are an English translation based upon the monumental Weimar edition started in 1883 to mark the quadricentennial of Luther's birth. Volumes 31 and 32, entitled *The Career of the Reformer,* are of special interest for the historian since they include Luther's explanation of the ninety-five theses, the Heidelburg disputation, the proceedings at Augsburg, his apologetic letters and pamphlets, etc., built around his life in chronological sequence.

The Pageant Book Company has announced that they will reprint in full *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Readers of the REVIEW do not need to be told of the importance of this collection for the study of the history of the Church in colonial North America. The Pageant edition will be limited to 500 sets, will be bound in proxlyn coated buckram, and will sell for $400.00 per set. Orders received before June 1, 1959, will be filled at the special price of $350.00 per set. The original seventy-three volumes will appear in thirty-six in this reprint, including the analytical index volume. The address of the Pageant Book Company is 59 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, New York.

The latest edition of the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States Since 1955,* published by the American Historical Association, appeared in November. This listing covers the period 1955-1958 and is a publication that should be carefully scanned by doctoral candidates. A close examination of the new edition revealed at least one instance (p. 7) where graduate students in two Catholic universities were working on the same subject. The *List* can be had for $1.50 by writing to the Association's headquarters, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

The Library Science section of the American Benedictine Academy is preparing a revision and expansion of *A Benedictine Bibliography,* which was published in a subject and author part in 1949-1950. This group is now working under the editorship of Reverend Oliver Kapsner, O.S.B., currently on the library staff of St. Vincent College, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to bring the author part up to date. When completed this part will list all books by Benedictine authors, editors, and translators in the libraries of American Benedictine monasteries and convents.

An important new contribution in the field of Church-State relations in today's world has recently been published in Argentina: it is F. Fernández de Landa's, *Las Relaciones Entre la Iglesia y el Estado* (Editorial Pio XII, Buenos Aires, 1958).

The *Civiltà Cattolica* has often been regarded as an unofficial though trustworthy guide to the general policies in Roman Catholic affairs, especially in Italy. Ambrogio M. Fiocchi, S.J., has published a study of the career of Enrico Rosi, S.J., one of its early writers, that discloses the great editorial problems that arose during the crisis of Modernism, the moral issues of World War I, and the Fascist regime. (*P. Enrico Rosi, S.I., scrittore della "Civiltà Cattolica," 1870-1938.* Roma: La Civiltà Cattolica. 1957.)

Students of French history will be interested in the new journal, *French Historical Studies,* the first volume of which appeared late in 1958. It is published under the auspices of the Society for French Historical Studies and sells for $2.00 for a single number to members of the society and $2.50 to non-members and libraries. Inquiries should be addressed to the editor, Professor Marvin L. Brown, Jr., 112 Winston Hall, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

The Cistercian journal, *Citeaux in de Nederlanden,* edited by P. Roger de Ganck, Abbaye Cistercienne, Westmalle, Belgium, has changed its title to *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses,* to indicate its broadened scope. It will continue to appear quarterly and to publish articles in Dutch, English, French, German and Latin.

At a business meeting on December 28, 1958, the American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano voted to change its name to the Society for Italian Historical Studies. It is hoped that the new name may help to widen the scope of the organization and thus encourage scholars in other periods of Italian history to associate themselves in the society's activities. Arrangements have been made with the editors of the major Italian historical journals to offer to members of the society special subscription rates and a new category of members, graduate students, has been created whose financial obligation will be limited to the payment of the net cost of the review to which they may wish to subscribe. The winner of the essay contest sponsored by the group for the best unpublished study in the history of modern Italy was awarded to Raymond Grew of Princeton University for his manuscript, "A Sterner Plan: The History of the Italian National Society," with honorable mention for their essays going to Richard A. Webster of Columbia University and Paul W. Schroder of Concordia Senior College. Persons interested in the society or in details concerning the annual $200 prize for the best unpublished study in the history of Italy should address the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Howard R. Marraro, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America will be held on April 17 and 18 at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto.

The annual St. Vincent de Paul Lecture of St. John's University, New York, was delivered on December 2 by Aloysius K. Ziegler, head of the Department of History of the Catholic University of America, who chose as his subject St. Vincent de Paul at the royal court of France. The honorary degree of doctor of humane letters was conferred on Father Ziegler on the same occasion.

In preparation for the 300th anniversary of the death of St. Vincent de Paul which will occur in 1960 Ralph F. Bayard, C.M., professor of church history in Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, has begun work on a biography

of Leo DeNeckere, C.M. (1800-1833), Bishop of New Orleans. DeNeckere died after only three and a half years in his see from exposure to the yellow fever epidemic during which he had been active in relieving the victims. Anyone who may know of DeNeckere materials will be doing Father Bayard a service if they will so inform him.

The centennial of the death of Alexis de Tocqueville will be commemorated on April 13-14 by a series of papers at several of the Catholic colleges in the Philadelphia area. The first session will be devoted to the subject, "Was Tocqueville an Historian or a Sociologist?" and will be held at Chestnut Hill College. On the following morning at Villanova University the theme will be, "Was Tocqueville a Conservative or a Liberal?" and later that day La Salle College will be host to a meeting on the subject, "Was Tocqueville a Catholic?" The general arrangements for the two-day conference have been made by John A. Lukacs who is professor of history in both Chestnut Hill and La Salle Colleges.

Christopher Dawson, occupant of the Stillman Chair of Roman Catholic Studies in the Divinity School of Harvard University, delivered the annual B. K. Smith Lecture at the University of St. Thomas in Houston on February 26.

Villanova University is sponsoring a series of annual lectures, by prominent American and foreign scholars, on the theme, "St. Augustine and the Augustinian Tradition." The first of these lectures will be given on April 19 by Paul Henry, S. J., of the Catholic Institute in Paris, at present visiting professor at Duke University, who will speak on "St. Augustine and Personality." The lectures will be published.

The Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic sponsored its second annual seminar on religion in American life on January 12-14 in Chicago. Ten participants from the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths engaged in an open dialogue on relations of the religious bodies in a democratic society. Among the Catholic participants were: Vernon J. Bourke, St. Louis University; George Drury, Loyola University; Alfred F. Horrigan, Bellarmine College; Jerome G. Kerwin, University of Chicago; Edward Marciniak, Catholic Council on Working Life; Stanley Parry, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame; Gordon C. Zahn, Loyola University; William McDonald, Newman Club, University of Chicago; Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., St. John's University, Collegeville.

A two-day symposium on the general subject of "Catholicism and the American Way of Life" was held at the University of Notre Dame on February 13-14. The nine papers read dealt with three main topics: "The Immigrant and the City," "Complications of Language and Tradition," and "Old Problems Still Unsolved."

At the ninth Newberry Library Conference on American studies, which met on May 3, 1958, Stanley Elkins of the University of Chicago presented a paper on "The Question of Sambo," dealing with certain attitudes and characteristics of Negro slaves in Anglo-America. Professor Elkins noted that the stereotype of Sambo, as a docile, irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but lying and stealing individual, did not emerge in Latin American literature, and he speculated that one reason for this was the "open system" which offered the Latin American slave a relatively wide range of aspirations. John L. Phelan, of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, suggested that one reason for this was the insistence of the Catholic Church upon "other worldly" egalitarianism which could not but serve as "a powerful bond of social equality even in this world." Since all men "are equal in the sight of God, having a common origin and a common end," it was impossible to regard the slave in "exclusively property terms." Professor Phelan suggested that Protestantism in the North American slave states had not been similarly conducive to the "opening" of slave-freemen relations.

Etienne Gilson reaches his seventy-fifth birthday in June, 1959. *Medieval* Studies, XX (1958), is dedicated to this scholar whose learning and inspiration have brought the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto to such eminence as a center of teaching and research.

The American Council of Learned Societies announced on January 24 the names of the winners of its ten prizes for distinguished achievement in the humanities. Among the winners was Stephan Kuttner, professor of the history of canon law in the Catholic University of America and 1958 president of the American Catholic Historical Association. The prizes of $10,000 to each of the ten recipients are awarded with no restrictions and no responsibilities on the part of the winners.

At Seton Hall University a course has been added to the graduate program in the history of American Catholicism. Russell E. Planck, formerly of Seton Hall, has resigned to accept a position as educational director for the Third Air Force.

John R. Willis, S.J., has been appointed assistant professor of history in Boston College. He took his A.B. degree at Amherst College, his Ph.D. at Yale University and taught for seven years on the faculty of Bates College. Mr. Willis, a convert to Catholicism, entered the Society of Jesus in August, 1955.

At Georgetown University a list of promotions announced in January included Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor in mediaeval history to the rank of full professor and J. Joseph Huthmacher in American history to assistant professor.

Andrew G. O'Connor, a specialist in mediaeval Arabic and Jewish philosophy and formerly visiting professor at the University of Bagdad, has joined the staff at Villanova University.

Robert E. Quigley, instructor in history in La Salle College and doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history in Holy Family College, Philadelphia, to take effect with the opening of the new academic year.

Robert F. Byrnes, professor of history in Indiana University, has recently been made chairman of the department at Bloomington.

Frank L. Byrne, formerly at Louisiana State University, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Creighton University.

Raymond J. Sontag, Sidney Hellman Ehrman, professor of European history in the University of California, Berkeley, has been elected president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association for 1959. Professor Sontag was president of our own Association in 1952.

Kenneth T. Urquhart of St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans, has been elected vice president of the recently re-organized Louisiana Historical Association.

John J. Kennedy of the Notre Dame Committee on International Relations and author of the recently published *Catholicism, Nationalism and Democracy in Argentina* (Notre Dame Press, 1958) has returned to his teaching activities after a year and a half's leave of absence, during which time he held a Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship for research in Argentina. He is presently at work on a book which will deal with Argentina's foreign policy since 1930. Professor Kennedy is encouraged by the

recent enactment of a law re-establishing free universities in Argentina. This measure will be of particular benefit to Catholic higher education. The Reverend Mark G. McGrath, C.S.C., of St. George's College in Santiago, Chile, reports a similar development in Chile: "The educational pattern is undergoing deep changes. It has been state controlled in examinations and therefore in programs, on both secondary and university level. The Universities are now breaking the hold effectively. Of the ten Universities in Chile today six are private—three Catholic. . . . These private Universities now give their own recognized degrees and even their entrance examinations, free of the state bachelor's exam. This, in time, will free the secondary schools from the strait jacket of state imposed programs. . . ." These appear to be two new indications of Latin America's increasingly friendly attitude toward the Catholic Church, a development which is optimistically considered by John J. Considine, M.M., in his *New Horizons in Latin America* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1958).

Brendan C. McNally, S.J., associate professor of history in the College of the Holy Cross, died suddenly on September 15 only two weeks after his forty-ninth birthday. After receiving his A.B. degree from Boston College in 1930 Father McNally completed his graduate work at Saint Louis University where his doctoral dissertation in 1947 dealt with the attitudes of the United States press on the independence movement in Latin America between 1810 and 1825.

Roderick P. Wheeler, O.F.M., chairman of the Department of History at St. Bonaventure University, died suddenly on December 13, three days after his fifty-first birthday. Following the completion of his undergraduate work at St. Bonaventure, Father Roderick took the doctorate at the University of Madrid in 1940 with a dissertation entitled "A History of the Fur Trade in Florida." He was director of the Academy of American Franciscan History from 1944 to 1948 and editor of the *Americas* from its initial issue in April, 1944, until his return to his Alma Mater as a member of the Department of History in 1953.

James H. Moynihan, pastor of the Church of the Incarnation in Minneapolis, died on February 12 at the age of seventy-six. Monsignor Moynihan was trained in the St. Paul Seminary and in Rome where he took the S.T.D. degree in 1907. From the latter year until 1944 he was associated with the College of St. Thomas first as a professor of literature and as president from 1933 to 1944. He was best known in historical circles by his *Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953), which was the first full length study of the first Archbishop of St. Paul.

BRIEF NOTICES

ACOMB, EVELYN M. (Ed.). *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. xxxvi, 392. $7.50.)

This book is the product of two felicitous collaborations which were separated by more than a century. In the first place, it is based on a journal which Baron von Closen kept during the siege of Yorktown. It is, therefore, a concrete record of the military operations of the Franco-American alliance during the climactic phases of the American Revolution. In the second place, this book appears as the product of an effective collaboration between the author and the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The cause of diligent scholarship has not often been better served than by the tasteful restraint and completeness of the scholarly apparatus found here.

The substance of the book reflects the charming *gemüthlich* personality of Baron von Closen. The war and large issues provoked no metaphysical anxieties or speculation in the twenty-five-year-old captain. He went about his business of soldiering with a gentlemanly diligence. Though von Closen held a commission in the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment, most of his soldiering was done at the headquarters of the Comte de Rochambeau. As one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp, von Closen was one of that corps, dubbed by an American as the "Counts Couriers." His vantage point gave von Closen an excellent opportunity to observe the progress of the siege and the character of the commanders. Gentleman and soldier that he was, he noted his admiration for both Rochambeau and Washington—with a slight edge being given to von Closen's superior. There is no petty gossip in von Closen's *Journal.* A key passage may serve to illustrate this point. After the British surrendered, he recorded a summary of how the French and American co-operated.

> I cannot omit saying here that I have always seen the greatest unity, much agreement on the manner of proceeding in detail, and complete accord on the means of execution prevail between General Washington and M. de Rochambeau. . . . All the reports about deserters, quarters, people to employ, and the why and wherefore, were weighed, discussed, and agreed upon in the morning (as the basis) for orders *for the next 24 hours,* . . . The profound knowledge of M. de Rochambeau *(who was engaged in his 15th siege)* guided *in a large measure* the successive works of the besieging army.

Here is no boastful claim of European superiority; merely the note that the more experienced Rochambeau "guided" the strategy of the siege.

Since the *Journal* is based on other accounts of the siege, as well as the baron's personal records, there are no startlingly new facts to be gleaned about the joint Franco-American operations. The main value of the *Journal* rests on von Closen's personal observations on the war, the commanders, and the strange social customs of Americans. Nevertheless, von Closen's *Journal* may also serve to remind Americans that our independence had been midwifed by the Catholic powers of Europe with the sympathetic attendance of the rest of the continent. (NICHOLAS VARGA)

BENNETT, J. HARRY, JR. *Bondsmen and Bishops. Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 176. $3.50.)

In 1710 Christopher Codrington left two sugar plantations in eastern Barbados to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He wished them to be maintained, with their 300 slaves, for the support of a "convenient number" of "regular clergy". . ."who shall be obliged to study and practice physic and chirurgery, as well as divinity." His dream of a medical-missionary center, from which to convert the West Indian slaves to Christianity, ran counter, however, to a general Barbadian demand for a school or college. Moreover, there was no place in the Anglican Church for the monkish "apostolical men" he hoped for. In the end the society undertook to establish a school, known as Codrington College, which, though once destroyed and frequently dormant, still exists. To the end of the American Revolution the society, virtually the missionary arm of the Anglican Church, was involved in an unending struggle to maintain enough slaves to run the estates in the face of their unreproductiveness, and frequent disasters, which steadily reduced their numbers. They brought "unseasoned slaves" from the slavers—only to lose most of them through suicide or failure to become acclimatized. They tried hiring of "gangs" which only created new problems. At one point (1767), and in desperation with their numbers down to a low of 179, the society's agents negotiated the purchase of a neighboring estate to obtain its "seasoned slaves" and bring their own number up to a high of 336. But with the best of management the decline continued and by 1792 was down to 266. At this point the society launched a policy of amelioration with two ends in view. By establishing families, with independent property, they hoped to "breed" a continuing supply of slaves with a vested interest in the estate as a community. At the same time they undertook to free the children and the mothers, by stages, from full-time work so as to give them the rudiments of an education to the end of demonstrating that Christians would make better slaves. This policy was given vitality because the

Negroes, given homes and grounds and paid for all extra work over and above a steadily reduced "week," were enabled to purchase their further freedom "by the hour." As a policy it paid off: the slaves multiplied (which increased their freedom by enhancing the labor supply) and, in the upheavals that came in the train of the French Revolution, the Codrington blacks stood loyal. It is of much interest, and of much contemporary significance, that the principal obstacle to this policy of amelioration was the activity of the abolitionists—the prototype of all those who believe that societies must be razed before a better order can be *constructed.*

It would be hard to find a flaw in the craftsmanship of this detailed study that manages to maintain its human interest to the very end. Indeed, its endless statistical analysis loses all its terrors by being related to Negroes with names—and amusing ones at that. The author has made masterful use of the extremely rich materials by which their managers rendered accounts to the bishops in England. (ELDON M. TALLEY)

BROWN, RAPHAEL. *The Little Flowers of St. Francis.* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. 357. $3.95.)

Mr. Brown has translated five short mediaeval works embodying the tradition of the Spiritual Franciscan movement. The most famous of the writings, *The Little Flowers,* provides a title for the collection. Added are a long introduction, three appendices, and a selective bibliography. Two maps help locate the villages and hermitages in Umbria and the Marches. The translations are into modern simple English. This volume, available also as a paperback in the Image series, will be welcomed by those associated with the Franciscans. Literary students will find in these translations some of the ideas and ideals that inform the later criticisms of mediaeval religion, e.g., the final cantos of Dante's *Purgatorio* and William Langland's *Piers Plowman.* The strangely fascinating simplicity of St. Francis and his early brethren will affect even modern readers.

Unfortunately, this is hardly the definitive edition advertisements and introduction assert it to be. Explanatory notes and references are too scanty and not always keyed to the critical issues. The historicity of the several works and even large parts of the major work are left in inconclusive and unsatisfying generalities. The translator-editor seems to lack the penetration to grasp decisively the scholar's demands and the literary skill to satisfy these gracefully. His forte is in compiling rather than in sifting and evaluating. The volume, then, is more properly described as a new translation of what appears to be the entire *Actus Beati Francisci* (the larger source whence an unknown fourteenth-century Italian culled "the little flowers") to which is added related memorials on the stigmata of

St. Francis and on Brother Giles and Brother Juniper. Within these limits, Mr. Brown places many in his debt and deserves praise. It is hoped that what he and his publishers attempted will be achieved in fact at some later time. (VALENTINE HEALY)

CASO, ALFONSO. *The Aztecs: People of the Sun.* Translated and edited by Lowell Dunham. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 125. $7.95.)

As Alfonso Caso states in his preface, this work is more than just another edition of his earlier *La religión de los aztecas* published in 1936. Rather, it is a new study which makes use of the latter but enlarges and corrects it by incorporating into its pages the research of the past twenty years on the religion of the semi-civilized inhabitants of Tenochtitlán. It is directed primarily to those interested "in the religion of a people who were fundamentally religious and whose worship of the gods was essential to their way of life."

Basing his study on codices and archeological remains, Dr. Caso has produced an excellent survey of the various gods of the Aztec pantheon and the preponderant role each one played in Aztec life. Of particular interest is the story of the Aztec tribal god, Huitzilopochtli, the sun god, who, the Aztecs believed, had made them his chosen people; hence, the title of the book. Their duty was to provide him with food; and since he scorned "the coarse food of mortals," the Aztecs were obliged to keep him alive with human blood. This explains the sanguinary cult that revolved around the hideous worship of Huitzilopochtli and the necessity of waging war solely for the purpose of capturing victims for human sacrifice. The author's last chapter is a stimulating interpretation of Aztec religious life where he points out that not only is the latter the key to an understanding of Aztec culture but it is also the key to understanding why, like the other pre-columbian cultures, it terminated in complete sterility. It carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction due to the fatal limitations inherent in Aztec religion itself.

Highly commendable as the book is in so many respects, the reviewer wishes to take issue with the crassly materialistic concept of religion which Dr. Caso expresses in his chapter "Magic and Religion." According to him, the worship of God is born of man's wonder, fright, and fear. Such is not the case, however; for man by nature is a religious animal and his worship of some being over and above himself flows spontaneously from his very nature. The frightful aberrancies which primitive man has committed in what he considered was the proper worship of God can be explained by the fact that man alone, that is, by the light of reason only,

seems to be morally incapable of worshipping God for any length of time in a manner befitting his dignity. Miguel Covarrubias' attractive drawings speak for themselves. Lowell Dunham deserves high praise for the skillful job of editing and for his translation. (CHARLES E. RONAN)

DOWDEY, CLIFFORD. *Death of a Nation. The Story of Lee and His Men at Gettysburg.* (New York: Alfred A. Knoff. 1958. Pp. vii, 383. $5.00.)

Postmortems of battles, as of football games, are of dubious value but of universal interest. Gettysburg, the so-called "high-point of the Confederacy," has been a favorite topic of generals, both Union and Confederate, and of historians. As Mr. Dowdey points out, "Gettysburg did not loom as a decisive battle to the Confederates until years after the war when the states of the Union made so much of it" (p. 372). This volume is from the Confederate point of view, i.e., the story of why the South did not win, not of why the North did. Since this is the point of view, the difficulties of the South are stressed. If Davis had not considered himself a military genius; if he had not concentrated on defending his land; if Stonewall had not been killed, and if Jeb Stuart had not gone on a glamorous detour, the southern army might have won.

While Longstreet is the chief villain of the story, because of his later attacks on Lee and because his dilatory tactics, if not sullen insubordination, contributed to the defeat, Lee is not absolved of blame. Thus speaking of A. P. Hill the author writes, "the assignments he received were unsuited to his nature and training" (p. 277). Lee's custom of making suggestions and of offering choices seems to have upset Ewell who had never had this experience while under Jackson (pp. 126-127). While Longstreet was slow to move, Lee already knew of this, for he is quoted as saying on the evening of July 1, "If I attack from my right, Longstreet will have to make the attack . . . but he is so slow" (p. 157). Perhaps, as Mr. Dowdey suggests on various occasions, the loss of good men and the strain of attrition made Lee less than his usual self. The maps are good and a typographical error on page 381 is mentioned only because it points up the high quality of the book. (BASIL LEO LEE)

FAIRFAX-LUCY, ALICE. *Charlecote and the Lucys. The Chronicle of an English Family.* (London: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 327. $4.80.)

The tradition of John Buchan's literary brilliance is embodied in this volume written by his daughter who chronicles the Lucys of Warwickshire, and their great Tudor house at Charlecote on the Avon. The Lucys never

attained the importance of the Warwicks, the Arundels, or the Marlboroughs, but they reflected the strength, the devotion, and the service of the English gentry who collectively comprised the sturdy backbone of local government. The Lucy's history at Charlecote dates from a marriage between Walter, son of Thurstan de Montfort of Beldesert in Warwickshire, and an unidentifiable Lucy heiress at about the time of the Norman Conquest, to Sir Henry Montgomerie's presentation of the estate to the nation in 1946. This family served principally as J.P.'s, commissioners, M.P.'s, clergymen, soldiers, and occasionally as scholars. From the rebuilding of the great house in the traditional Elizabethan half H, which commenced about 1551, until its nationalization, the Lucys influenced south-central Warwickshire, and since Shakespeare's day they have enjoyed a tenuous association with the Bard. The author surveys, but wisely skips around, the controversy arising from the youthful Shakespeare's alleged poaching of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer. Some would have us believe that Shakespeare's conviction prompted his leaving Stratford, but there are several better reasons why he uprooted his growing family. The Lucys probably had no deer reserve then, although Charlecote brake sustained other animals. The connection between the two families may be due to the supposition that Sir Thomas Lucy was Shallow's prototype in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* but the beginning of festivals at Stratford in 1769 in honor of the playwright undoubtedly did more to publicize the myth. At any rate the allegation cannot be substantiated historically.

The story of Charlecote house and of its genteel and passionately vital occupants is woven by an ardent admirer who merits our commendation for her imaginative style, although she lapses occasionally into filiopietism. Anyone who has ever labored in the thorny thicket of English genealogy, and who has been confronted with the problem of skillfully relating local events to the national scene, will laud Alice Fairfax-Lucy's work. (MARTIN J. HAVRAN)

KRAEMER, CASPER J., JR. (Ed.). *Excavations at Nessana.* Volume III. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xxii, 355. $7.50.)

Far out in the desert of Palestine, on the border of Egypt about forty miles due south of modern Gaza, once stood a small town, the very name of which had been forgotten until in 1937 the Colt Archaeological Expedition revealed the existence of Nessana. It is, in its way, quite a distinguished spot, since it is the first site in Palestine from which papyri have come. It throve as a stop on the caravan route, and boasted two hotels, one of which provided accommodations for ninety-six guests (featuring, of course, shelter, not luxury; there were no private rooms and the traveller

was furnished only with mat and blanket). However, ancient Nessana stood not, as now, in a barren waste, but nestled in date palm, olive, and vine; the Nabataeans were famous for their elaborate system of water storage and irrigation canals. Nearby was Camp Nessana with an Arab camel corps of border militia dubbed the "Most Loyal Theodosians" (sounds like a good name for a Shriner lodge). The Church enjoyed remarkable prosperity. A small martyrium was first erected before 464 A.D. About a century later this was vastly enlarged, and, in 601, another chapel added, together with courtyards, galleries, and rooms. A monastery also existed, and it is amusing to note that, like mediaeval Greenland, Nessana was too remote to be reached by canon law, the abbacy being regularly transmitted from father to son for upwards of a hundred years. No modern scholar ever expected to learn that, as late as the sixth century, Latin was cultivated in an out-of-the-way village in the East particularly, but a well-thumbed Vergil alongside a worn-out catechism shows that both were inflicted on the pupils of the monastery school. The church was dedicated to St. Sergius, a great favorite with the Arabs, and enjoyed the additional advantage that Nessana was the last outpost on the pilgrim's route to Mount Sinai. A droll commentary on the tourist trade (no different from now-a-days!) is the fact that the Arab guide is said not to "conduct" the visitor to the holy mountain, but to *sycophantein* him, the word used in the New Testament for extortions practiced by soldiers on the populace (the underlying notion is evidently "protection"; at all events, the guide came high, half the price of a good camel, the equivalent, I dare say, in our times of half the price of a lower-bracket automobile).

The editor has done a good job. All of these papyri had been thrown into an old cupboard to be used as scrap paper before the mud roof of the house collapsed on them in the seventh century and minced them into a jigsaw puzzle, and it is a tribute to Kraemer's industry and ingenuity that he has been able to put them together into such a vivid glimpse into the life of this long-buried town. The volume is copiously indexed, beautifully printed—and very reasonably priced, due, no doubt, to the generosity of the Colt Foundation. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

"Introducción a los origines de la Observancia en España: Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV." *Archivo ibero-americano,* secunda epoca, Nums. 65-68 (1957), 5-945.

This admirable study on the origins of the reform of the Franciscan Observants in Spain during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries worthily commemorates the fifth centenary of the death of San Pedro Regalado, saint of the movement. The aim of its authors was not only to provide a

scholarly introduction to the history of this important religious reform and its principal leaders, but also to furnish the means to encourage its further investigation. In this they have commendably succeeded. A brief résumé of the volume will but vaguely indicate the painstaking labor that went into its production. Four extensive chapters dealing with the beginnings of the movement and its progress in each of the three Spanish provinces, Santiago, Aragon, and Castile, introduce the work. There follow in two chapters a lengthy discussion and critical appraisal of the source materials available for the history of the reform. Well-documented biographies follow of each of its four leaders: Pedro de Villacreces, guiding spirit and organizer; Pedro de Santoyo; Lope de Salazar y Salinas, and San Pedro Regalado. Appended to Regalado's life is an excellent critical bibliography of all available materials dealing with the saint. Two additional chapters elaborate on the particular characteristics and spirit of the Villacrecian reform, as it has come to be called. The final third of the work comprises a critical introduction to and edition of all the surviving works of Father Lope de Salinas, faithful interpreter of the mind of Pedro de Villacreces and defender of the reform. Thus the reader has immediate access to much of its principal sources. With the exception of the biography of San Pedro, written by Alejandro Recio, O.F.M., the work was jointly produced by the Franciscans, Diosdado Merino, Fidel de Lejarza, and Angel Uribe. An adequate index of names and materials concludes the volume. (RICHARD H. TRAME)

LERSKI, JERZY JAN. *A Polish Chapter in Jacksonian America. The United States and the Polish Exiles of 1831.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 242. $5.00.)

The first Poles landed in Jamestown, Virginia, 350 years ago. In this book, a condensation of the author's doctoral dissertation, Dr. Lerski recalls the arrival of another group of Poles in North America. The author achieves his purpose effectively, viz., to revive the almost forgotten episode of the Polish exiles welcomed to the United States after the ill-fated insurrection of 1831. The story itself is interesting, because it presents a new phase in American history made even more significant by the prominent American personalities involved. These men were not merely honorary members of committees but actually worked for the benefit of the Polish exiles. Among the most active were James Fenimore Cooper, Albert Gallatin, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Edgar Allen Poe. In fact, the whole young American nation sympathized with the Poles and came to their aid; they still remembered the deeds of Kosciuszko and Pulaski in the war for American independence. The incident about the congressional land

grant made to the Poles in the vicinity of Rockford, Illinois, is not known generally. Although the author gives an explanation why the efforts to create a "Little Poland" in that area failed, the reasons given for the failure of this project do not explain the situation completely. Further study on this land grant might clear up the matter more certainly.

Dr. Lerski tells his story in a straightforward manner and historical facts are not sacrificed for literary style. The author's statements are well documented. He reveals the existence of an amazing amount of material concerning Poland and the Poles in the United States during the Jacksonian era. Mention is made in particular of the late Miecislaus Haiman and the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum in Chicago. These archives contain a vast amount of source material concerning the Poles in the United States; in fact, they are actually a monument in memory of Haiman's dedication in this field. The bibliography is quite extensive and one of the appendices gives a list of the exiles who arrived in the United States after the 1831 insurrection. There are few lapses of spelling and grammar in this book which could very well be typographical errors, but this defect does not detract from the value of the work. (MENCESLAUS J. MADAJ)

MANGO, CYRIL. *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople.* English translation, Introduction and Commentary. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, III.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1958. Pp. xii, 327. $6.00.)

In this volume Mango provides us with a good translation of Photius' extant homilies, illustrated by copious explanatory notes and introductory essays not only to the collection as a whole, but to each of the sermons. Of the eighty-three "Speeches and Homilies" published in 1900 by Aristarches, the vast majority are "reconstructed" from supposed fragments in other works of Photius, and only sixteen are genuine. It is, of course, to the latter that Mango restricts his attention, with the addition of two others brought to light in 1954. Mango believes that all these compositions belong to Photius' first term as Patriarch (858-867), and that the collection was made and preserved secretly after his disgrace by his friends and disciples. Apparently, Photius' sermons were not widely read during the Byzantine Middle Ages, and they have survived in comparatively few manuscripts. Mango has carefully checked the published text against the manuscripts.

The most famous and interesting of these homilies are the two delivered during and after the Russian attack on Constantinople in 860. They are not only a very important historical source for the event, but they are also a vivid and eloquent portrayal of the paralyzing terror that gripped the capital at this unexpected visitation—easily the finest of the homilies,

at least by modern standards. Mango believes that one of the sermons was occasioned by the council of 867, which condemned and excommunicated Pope Nicholas I, though he has some difficulty in explaining away the absence in it of any reference to the *filioque*. If his conclusion is correct, then certainly its most striking feature is that, though Photius has been called the "Father of the Schism," yet he betrays no animus against the papacy, in fact, does not even mention it. This is in pointed contrast to his excoriation of his adversaries at home in some of his other utterances. One of the most surprising revelations is that until March 29, 867, no one had ventured to restore the mosaics in the Church of Holy Wisdom; this is a forceful proof of the strength and persistence of iconoclastic sentiment in the East eighty years after its first condemnation in the seventh general council and twenty-five years after its final legal suppression. Mediaeval Greek is not easy to translate, but, as is evidenced by the notes, the author has done a thorough and painstaking job. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

MOODY, RICHARD. *The Astor Place Riot.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958. Pp. x, 243. $5.00.)

Militia were called out to aid the police in defending the Astor Place Opera House against a mob demonstrating against Macready on May 10, 1849. Macready was foreign, he was said to have shown hostility to Forrest, the idol of the Bowery, while the latter was in England and Scotland, and the Astor Place Theater had been built by and for the "better" classes. All these elements combined to arouse hostility against Macready, the English gentleman, while Forrest, given to histrionics on and off stage, was loudly and proudly American. When the militia had been stoned, and after a blank volley had been fired, the shooting took place. About thirty of the mob (and spectators) were killed and about 100 wounded. Fifty-three members of the Seventh Regiment had already been rendered *hors de combat,* according to its official history.

As Mr. Moody points out, personality differences, nativism, and class warfare combined to cause the riot. I thought the author could have been more explicit in regard to Isaiah Rynders' part in the riot. The placards urging violence had been delivered by the printer to the saloon below Rynders' Empire Club; while the owner denied having given them to Rynders, his veracity was doubted by many. Rynders admitted buying tickets for the performance of May 7 (p. 190) and punched an editor who playfully accused him of having started the disturbance (p. 109). Consistently using the spelling "Emmett," Mr. Moody thinks the Irish patriot would have been shocked at his nephew's aiding Macready, an Englishman. But the account of Thomas Addis Emmet (I, 467) seems to believe

Macready possibly Irish, particularly since his introduction to Emmet came through former members of the United Irishmen. The book would be even more enjoyable if it had an index. (BASIL LEO LEE)

MYLONAS, GEORGE E. *Aghios Kosmas. An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica.* With an Appendix on the Early Helladic Skulls by J. Lawrence Angel. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 193, 132 illustrations, and 64 plans, drawings of vase shapes, etc. $20.00.)

This book is a full and splendidly illustrated archaeological report of the site called Aghios Kosmas on the road from Palaion Phaleron to Glyphada, opposite the airport of Athens. The site was occupied about 2300 B.C. by artisan-traders from the Cyclades who imported obsidian *en bloc* from Melos and manufactured long, thin knives out of it. Trade brought them into contact with the inhabitants further inland, and some of the latter were attracted to settle in their village. The excavations indicate that the life of the community was primitive, but fairly prosperous. About 2000 B.C., the village was sacked by invaders who may, perhaps, be identified as the first of the Indo-European bands from the north to reach this part of Greece. A new settlement was established by a Greek-speaking people about 1500 and grew into a flourishing community in the course of the next 300 years. The appearance of fortifications shortly after 1200 indicates danger from without, yet the village was not destroyed but was abandoned about 1100. It was never reoccupied. The thirty-two graves of the cemetery of Aghios Kosmas have not only given us the best preserved skeletal remains for the period so far found in Greece, but also precious information on customs, especially on funeral customs. The skeletons exhibit a striking diversity in physical type. The mean life span of men was 34.3 years, and of women, 29.5. No bones of children or infants were found. The excavations at Aghios Kosmas have given us one of the most complete pictures which we possess to date on life on the mainland of Greece in the Early Bronze Age. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

NEILL, THOMAS P. *Readings in the History of Western Civilization.* Volume II. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 409. $2.25.)

Christian scholars the world over are ever examining ideas and institutions in the Christocentric frame of reference. In our secular culture the need for this scholarship is urgent for all who are aware of the transcendent importance of the Christian concept of the nature and purpose of man and society.

In its College Readings Series, the Newman Press is publishing selected theocentric readings in several related areas chosen from important works of scholars of the widest recognized competence. In this series, Dr. Thomas P. Neill of Saint Louis University now has two excellent volumes of readings. This second volume carries his selections from 1648 to the present. It is intended to supplement texts widely used by Catholic college students. It should fill a distinct need and the high quality of the readings should recommend it to all serious students. It is intended to serve as a creative influence. It should prove to be an indispensable supplement to the general texts on the history of western civilization. Without the kind of material Dr. Neill includes, these texts must continue to give only fractured and fragmented pictures of our heritage. Above all, the readings have the power to arouse in the students awareness that a Christian culture can be built in the world of tomorrow on the theocentric pattern of this kind of scholarly selections.

In the main, the quality of the selections is high. The volume is, however, an anthology; and it suffers from a deficiency quite common to anthologies: its selections are uneven in scholarly merit and literary form and had a few been excluded, they would not have been missed. The arrangement is not good; it follows neither chronological nor topical order. As the book will, no doubt, be used especially by Americans, it would serve them better had Dr. Neill included a selection directly on Christianity and American pragmatism. The splendid selection by J. V. Langmead Casserley, "Christianity and Democracy," and Neill's own essay, "Toward a Definition of Liberalism," are pertinent here, but far more oblique presentations than the force of pragmatism in our secular culture warrants. Dr. Neill has again served Christianity and significant scholarship well. (JAMES A. O'CONNELL)

OLIVER, E. J. *Gibbon and Rome.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1958. Pp. vii, 198. $3.50.)

One who is reasonably familiar with the life of Gibbon will be intrigued by the word Rome in the title of this book. Possibly Rome refers to the Church, or to a discussion of the *Decline and Fall* as an example of the historian's art, or to the Roman Empire as the subject of Gibbon's history. Indeed, Oliver uses the word in these contexts, but he also gives to it a special meaning. *Gibbon and Rome* is not a work of deep and narrow criticism or a study in historiography, and it is not a biography, although it presents the main events of Gibbon's life in a more or less chronological pattern. Oliver had not endeavored to discover new facts about Gibbon, nor are his interpretations remarkably original. But he has written a readable book in a pleasant, urbane, and suggestive manner. The Roman

Church is in it, and Gibbon's brief relations with the Church and his subsequent attitudes toward it are described in sufficient detail to make them comprehensible. The discussion of the *Decline and Fall* is disappointing. Oliver uses Gibbon's masterpiece as a source of information and ideas about its author at different periods of his life, but he offers nothing new about the book itself. Oliver's theme is Gibbon's "grand passion" for Rome of the second century A.D.—his understanding of it, his admiration for its virtues, its immediacy to him because in the "timeless climate" of the eighteenth century he experienced some of that which Rome meant to him. At the same time, Oliver describes the impact upon Gibbon of elements in his experience which were alien to the classical tradition. Out of this attempt to portray Gibbon in relationship to his own age and as a man who had little appreciation for the "world of spirits" or for the Jewish, Christian, and Greek tradition, and who "devoted himself to the Roman reality," there emerges a sympathetic and lucid sketch of one of the great historians. (CARL B. CONE)

PRESTON, RICHARD A. and LEOPOLD LAMONTAGNE. *Royal Fort Frontenac.* (Toronto: For the Champlain Society by the University of Toronto Press. 1958. Pp. xxx, 503. $5.00.)

This is the second volume of the Ontario Series under the auspices of the Camplain Society, issuing from the University of Toronto Press, with the government of Ontario financing the editing and publication. Royal Fort Frontenac was the first royal military and commercial post of the French in what is now Ontario; it was located in present-day Kingston. This book covers its history from its inception till 1760; another volume in preparation will continue the survey till 1813. As stated in the preface an effort has been made to assemble all available information about Fort Frontenac supplied by explorers, missionaries, intendants, governors, engineers, visitors, and high ranking officers, with special attention to filling in the gaps in general collections. As is obvious, the authors make no attempt at interpreting history, for their work is a collection of documentary evidence. In this effort they have succeeded admirably. A lengthy introduction precedes the English translation of the documents; this is followed by the French texts. There are two very valuable appendices, of which one lists the commandants of the fort from 1673 to 1760, while the other gives a brief explanation of the principal persons, places, and Indian nations mentioned in the text. There are maps of the fort at various periods, and portraits of important persons. This volume should prove very helpful to students in as much as it presents so much source material otherwise scattered and in part inaccessible. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

PRUCHA, FRANCIS PAUL. *Army Life on the Western Frontier. Selections from the Official Reports Made between 1826 and 1845.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xxxvi, 187. $4.00.)

From manuscript reports in the National Archives, Father Prucha has culled a fascinating selection of material relating to United States Army life at various western forts during the period 1826-1845, as seen by Colonel George Croghan, an inspector general. As the eyes and ears of the general-in-chief, Croghan was an important cog in the administrative machinery of the army during these years, and his straightforward reports are a splendid source of military history. The excerpts presented are classified under six headings: military policy, forts, administration services, supplies and equipment, men, and Indian affairs. Father Prucha has supplied introductions to each chapter which place Croghan's remarks in perspective, and he has clarified obscure references by means of footnotes. Readers of the REVIEW may be interested in the brief comments on chapels, and in Croghan's view that the expense of erecting them should be borne by the Quartermaster Department. A map showing the location of the various forts, several illustrations, a bibliographical note, and an index all contribute to the worth of this volume, as does an appendix listing Croghan's tours of inspection. This handsomely printed book will be welcomed principally by those interested in military and regional history. (HAROLD D. LANGLEY)

SNYDER, LOUIS L. (Ed.). *Documents of German History.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 619. $10.00.)

In this volume the author has selected, translated, and edited over 160 documents illustrative of the history of Germany from Roman times to the present. The documents cover all aspects and periods, although almost three-fourths of the book is devoted to the period since 1800, which is only natural since our interest in German history is centered mainly upon the national period. The text of each document is introduced by a brief editorial comment which aids the reader to set it in the context of the times. There are ten black and white maps along with a short, but good bibliography in both German and English. In addition to a good index, there are a number of appendices ranging from general chronology to economic tables of West German trade for the period 1948-1951.

On the whole the editor has made a rather average selection of material. His emphasis has, perhaps, leaned too heavily on political aspects, particularly constitutions, and diplomatic. The diplomatic documents, although certainly the major treaties of modern Germany, are rather meaningless and somewhat confusing to the average student since they are out of the

context of general European diplomatic history. The greatest shortcomings of the volume are the items concerning social, cultural, and intellectual history, e.g., the portion of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* is so brief that it is nearly purposeless. Also, although the editor did include certain passages illustrative of the German mind, the choice and number does not seem sufficient. Even in the case of National Socialism, it would seem that more pertinent material could have been found. The almost total absence of selections from the great German philosophers is lamentable considering the sig ıificant role these men have played in the development of the modern German mind.

Nevertheless, the book is a welcome edition to the field of German history. It is very well printed and bound, and certainly anyone teaching German history will welcome this handy volume as supplementary reading, since many of the documents have not been readily available before in English translation. It is unfortunate that the price is so high as to be nearly out of the reach of most students as a second text. (PHILIP NERI HARTZELL)

STONOR, ROBERT JULIAN, O.S.B. *Liverpool's Hidden Story.* (Billinge, Near Wigan, Lancashire: Birchley Hall Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 117.)

As noted by Archbishop Heenan of Liverpool in his foreword, it is opportune to draw attention to the immense difficulties encountered by any historian writing of Catholic Lancashire. When the Anglican upheaval reached its zenith no less a personage than William Cecil, Lord Burghley, recognized that this shire of "Mary's dowry" was truly the Catholic stronghold and began a systematic and ruthless program of extermination. Naturally the Catholics became reticent and furtive and because of this secrecy little could be gleaned from Catholics themselves both as to their strength and steadfastness. Father Stonor, in an interesting and scholarly pamphlet, has gathered together fragments of information. Combining in his work the scanty records in the old halls which served as Mass centers for the Catholic flock, along with the archives from the Benedictines and libraries of his own family and friends, the author has written a worthwhile and readable account. Especially worthy of attention is the sketch map of the halls and secret chapels around Liverpool, together with splendid photographs of the same. The text is lucid, even inspiring in the light of the reality that these folk bore the full brunt of the "religious terror" rampant during the Elizabethan donnybrook. The two chapters on "The Church of the Resistance" and "Liverpool Itself during the Persecution" will command admiration even from the "separated brethren." The bulk of the work consists in sketches of forty-nine "secret chapels outside the Town (Liverpool)." (L. BERKELEY KINES)

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